# SOCIAL RESEARCH

AN INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL COMBINING THE JOURNAL OF APPLIED SOCIOLOGY AND BULLETIN OF SOCIAL RESEARCH

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# SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL RESEARCH

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# SOCIAL CO-ORDINATORS

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The attempt to interpret society from subjective contemplation has clarified our thoughts. A good many concepts such as instincts, attitudes, and behaviors have been analyzed and thus have added something to the particular phases of the approach to the science of sociology. Arising from many minds with different approaches the philosophy of concepts and mental attitudes has led us into a maze of terminology without satisfactory generalizations making for a coherent science of sociology. This failure to make any normal conclusions has caused many to attempt to verify the philosophical theories by study of life histories, cases, and provincial community life. It is a worthy attempt to enquire from actual observation, how human beings behave under certain conditions and in different environments.

Both of these worthy methods have succeeded in revealing the number of variables that must be considered in the complete diagnosis of society and which must be co-ordinated before successful generalization appears. Modern social philosophers and investigators have rendered a service in making it clear that social action is a variable process of variable conditions, and that its determination cannot be fixed but each variable must be interpreted in terms of other variables, and hence a status of relativity is all that has been accomplished. There has not occurred a method of balancing social values one against the other, much less a standardization of social purposes and functions.

It is common for the air pilot, when the fogs of a lower atmosphere obscure his vision, to rise to a higher altitude for surer sailing. So the sociologist confused by the multitudes of conflicting interpretations, and the weary round of relativity seeks to rise to higher generalizations where the vision is better, even though the vital problems remain unsolved, or he may retreat to the historical and descriptive phase of sociology and discover that society is just what society does, and that now as always it continues to

do, no matter what philosophers think about it.

Nevertheless there are great co-ordinators of society that have been ever present as determiners in its origin and its control; they are not only the makers of society but also the exponents of societary action. In searching for these social co-ordinators, human society's "place in the sun" is discovered. It is a distinct part of the universe and no matter how widely differentiated from other parts it is controlled by the same general laws of time, space, and energy. It passes through changes from chaos to cosmos, from confusion to orderly arrangement the same as the other parts of the universe. And the co-ordinators of control that make the organic and the inorganic world include man, his environment and his social order. Social life is as natural as physical life, and in a large way yields to cosmic law. The subjective separation of the social sciences from the natural sciences has led us to overestimate their fundamental differences. It is only in the highly specialized states of social consciousness that the difference is real and important. In a general sense distinction between the social and natural sciences is a matter of pedagogical convenience, just as the difference between the physical and biological sciences. In a particular sense the data and the special purposes vary, but as man is a part of nature, social life is also; and in this sense social sciences are as natural as the physical sciences. Society has had its

origin and its changes from chaos to cosmos under control of natural laws. Hence refusing to accept a mere technical nomenclature as a final determiner of fundamental differences reveals how closely society is linked with other

parts of the universe by the control of law.

The co-ordinators that made this earth of ours a fit place on which to stand and to live have been the various forms of energy such as heat, electricity, radio-activity, gravity, chemic-physical and kinetic energy. By the action of these forces the wandering atoms have been called from chaos to order; from gases to coherent masses of minerals and rocks. In all of these changes perhaps heat has been, in its change from high to low temperatures and the reverse, the most active agent.

Whence life came is undetermined but that the vital principle gathered in and co-ordinated the wandering atoms into organized groups is evident. Life was the great coordinator of all plants and animals. Out of differentiated organic life came society. It may be wrong to assume that society had a physical basis but back of its existence are physical laws, without which there would have been no society. Society itself from its very beginning has been brought about by a few co-ordinators. The sociologist follows its life history from incoherent elements, mere signs and gestures of a possibility of what we know as society, to definite proportions, from confusion to order. The preservation of the individual through food and shelter was the dominant co-ordinator and incidental to this was the extension of life into the next generation. Whatever other impulses, attractions, and desires may have been in evidence in the primitive beginnings of society, these two were the dominant factors of social life—the two great social co-ordinators—and so have they ever been. Many lesser co-ordinators have appeared from time to time, influential in determining the quality and type of society.

Astronomy has been formed in following the development of the heavenly bodies from "star dust" through regular co-ordination; geology from following the elements from disorder to order; biology from the confusion of cell life to the cosmos of beautiful organization under the control of law; and likewise sociology in the history of wandering half-formed individual units to social order and harmony.

Thus we find social co-ordinates that change social chaos to social cosmos which shows that society has traveled along the same highway of development as all other

sciences.

How close then is society to other forms of organized nature, and how close are all to the atoms of inorganic nature! Follow one natural element through its full process and see how physical and chemical law touches social life and its control. Take for example the rise of the mist from the sea influenced by the sun's rays, the great coordinator of all life on earth. By condensation, the change from heat to cold, the mists form into rain drops and descend to the earth by the law of gravitation. Under the influence of this same law they start to a lower level and form into the stream. All of these drops are perfectly coordinated and push and crowd each other but never losing power as they start back to the ocean. Somewhere on the course, human ingenuity, supported by the same sun in its life-giving power, dams the stream, turns it from its course and it waters the fertile lands to produce food for man. About this stream the people cluster in group activity building schools, churches, civil government, and engaging in all the co-operative enterprises of a human society. The sun's rays, and the laws of condensation and gravitation have changed the disorderly vapor through cosmic law into a power under human law. But see, there are human co-ordinators at work. The desire for food has been

the great natural human co-ordinator. But the genius of man was necessary and the power of an individual co-ordinator made it possible to complete transition of the chaotic vapor into a life saving and life producing agency; more, it has developed the social life and the social order. How close then are all social functions to the control of the laws of the universe. But go further, the controlling genius of man puts in a turbine engine, transmutes the motion of the water to the electrical current through the same law of condensation, and electric power and light are generated to furnish improved conditions of society which change the form and function of the community.

Let us go further: the intellectual and moral nature of the community lie close to the physical law and the social mechanism, and we shall find that there are great social co-ordinators at work all the time to correct and control human action. The final aim of sociology will be found in discovering and developing a harmonious ethical relation. The moral life has its fundamental basis on cosmic evolution. The minister of the gospel is a human co-ordinator of moral conduct. He is a co-ordinator of religious belief in his attempt to harmonize human action with the laws of the Creator. The educator seeks to control the best methods of intellectual development, the statesman seeks to develop statecraft for the protection of the community. But the community itself through social heredity and co-operation advances its own status, in the interest of mutual wellbeing of the individuals that compose it.

Yet here and there are the great individual co-ordinators of life. In this changing world what influences such men as Confucius, Buddha, Alexander, Napoleon, Luther, Washington and Lincoln have had in determining human thought and human behavior! Or in another category, such co-ordinators of thought and human change as Darwin, Spencer, Curie, Pasteur, Galileo, Shakespeare, and

other masters who in their particular fields have influenced and controlled society through the centuries. Pupin believes that Jesus has been and is now the greatest co-ordinator of human thought and action in the Western civilization. So far as moral forces are concerned, perhaps the teaching of Jesus has been the greatest co-ordinator of ethical action in modern times. This is of tremendous importance inasmuch as the ultimate end of all sociological study is to co-ordinate and harmonize ethical action. It comes the nearest to standardization of human conduct of any social co-ordinator that may be mentioned.

Religion from its earliest existence has been not only a co-ordinator of diverse beliefs, but a controller of social organization in its every phase. By the influence of taboo it controlled the food supply and ultimately modified every branch of economic, social, and political life. Usually based on a belief founded on the emotions, its tradition was a strong and persistent controlling force during the

succeeding generations through the ages.

Referring to tradition, it is a strong factor in the social heritage; whether of belief, language, social customs, government and law—it has been one of the most persistent of all dynamic co-ordinators. New elements of control and new social usages may be introduced, but the lines of old traditions are never eradicated. Indeed, human cultures built up by the slow evolution of civilization as man sought to master nature and to transform and utilize its products finally became dominant and enslaved the future generations by tyranny of custom.

Science as a method of discovering and interpreting the truth is the true antagonist of the fixity of custom, thought, and traditional action. As it gains wider recognition it becomes a great social co-ordinator, in determining, first, the newer ideals of life, and second, in its control of the mechanism of society. Slowly the world is gaining a scien-

tific attitude of mind which enquires "what are the facts and what do they mean" and expresses more or less willingly a desire to abide by the results of scientific investi-

gation.

The scientific study of sociology is very difficult because it is more a process of observation than of investigation. Besides the material interests that enter into it, there are the spiritual. Besides the concrete and the objective are the psychical. There is social consciousness that makes a coherent group with its actions, reactions, and interactions, in its material as well as its spiritual side. Society is the laboratory of sociology and the investigator is an observer and recorder of what passes. The variety of phenomena to be observed from many different angles present such a complexity that they are difficult to interpret and because no fixed standard may be established are difficult to measure. How difficult it is to standardize human action. This is what sociology is trying to do, but it is weak in generalization. Generalization is an important factor in social research. Examples of human action are multitudinous and they are worth study but the norm is difficult to reach. Behavior is worth study. The social attitude is worth study. There are attitudes and attitudes, but what is an attitude, and how will you measure it?

Our mathematical friends have little difficulty with standardization as they can refer all points in a given plane to rectilinear co-ordinates so that a position of any point may be determined. They can have standards of measurement of space and time. They can co-ordinate all relations of numbers by referring to a standard of location

and measurement.

In a mathematical equation of two variables one may be solved in terms of the other, in one of three variables one may be solved in terms of the other two. Each variable must have an equation, no matter how many. The trouble with sociology is its many variables, in which one may be solved in terms of all the others. There is no solution except in unknown quantities. As a result we have no normalcy or known standard of references. Again, our mathematical friends have an easy way of locations in

space by reference to three intersecting planes.

In society the relativity to group or individual reactions may be expressed. Suppose we wish to determine the relative value of family A with family B, each of father, mother, and five children. First must be established the normalcy of family life. Traits and factors must be considered of each member and then a large number of families, some hundreds with thousands of variables must be studied to get the arithmetical mean. Then the two families might be measured by a norm. Perhaps a crude estimate of values might be established but the whole life history of the family would be necessary for final test. Then changes in a short time would have rendered the norm or measuring unit obsolete.

Nevertheless, the study of statistics is of great value and frequently a high degree of probability of truth may be established and this could be visualized by the use of graphs. But the variability of conditions in different territories as well as the variability in traits would render the task of getting sufficient data for valuable generaliza-

tion very difficult.

Wealth is a co-ordinator of society so far as it determines the extent of social activities but as a determiner of human happiness or indeed human progress it is inadequate. For it depends upon how it is used whether it brings happiness or universal improvement. Indeed it may retard ultimate progress and has too many varieties of influence to be a standard of reference.

Culture itself at first a product of human endeavor seeking the betterment of human life, may when once organ-

ized become a tyrant. Seeking his own betterment in his adaptation to nature, man creates his own social environment which often enslaves him. The social heredity that becomes fixed in tradition rules him from generation to generation, from age to age. As such it becomes the most persistent social co-ordinator that determines continuous human action. Striving to break away from it, new traditions are established which work out their weary round of dominant force. The change is cyclical over a long period of time. In small areas of contact it breaks, in the larger content it is continuous. Referring to particular phases of social action one might take the protective tariff in the United States as an example. Brought about by the incidents of social welfare when it seemed that it was an excellent adaptation of means to an end it soon grew into political consciousness as a sure and necessary function for the economic welfare of the nation. It became a fetish to be exorcised as protector of human right and essential to national life. Thus it became dominant, traditional, and coercive and enslaved many. Granted that it could develop diversified industries and bring into use the natural resources, its evil consisted in the fact that it in itself insured welfare and progress.

The modern statistical methods of study and the persistent enquiry into every nook and corner of society for knowledge of its structure and function as it exists today are necessary for understanding relations. The subjective analysis of concepts and mental attitudes are of value in interpreting what exists in human society. Yet over and above these efforts and results is the dominance of social co-ordinations that make and control society and determine its character. And as society is made, so are set the character and boundary of sociology. Society is what society does and sociology is an interpreter of results. But the whole truth may not be obtained without a far-reaching vision over cycling changes caused by dominant forces.

### UNSOCIAL TRENDS

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The social theorist is a realist in most respects. He is trying to discover the realities underlying various notions and forms; he wants realities wherever there are controversies, confused issues, perplexing situations, maladjustments; on the basis of present occurrences and trends he tries to foresee future realities. This paper seeks to face in such a realistic manner a few phases of the contemporary world scene that are more or less of a challenge to all social thinkers and researchers. The writer hastens to add that he can only paint in the picture with the broadest strokes, omitting much that is important in the way of detailed fact and necessary qualification.

One of the first situations that confronts the theorist is the necessity of establishing ever more efficient control over the forces of nature, human nature, and society, if ill is to be avoided. As the result of great advances in agricultural and industrial methods we have been able to care for vastly augmented numbers of human beings, who almost immediately made their appearance. As the result of advances in chemistry, hygiene, medicine and surgery, we have prevented disease, prolonged life, and kept alive hosts who would have early passed from the scene under ruder conditions. In spite of their relative immaturity, but because of the pressing demands made upon them for assistance, the social sciences have done a fairly good job of handling the problems arising out of the exceedingly

complex social relationships that naturally followed the above events, and by various carefully devised arrangements, have enabled these masses to live together with a fair degree of order and peace.

What this means, however, is that we have created a civilization that is so much a matter of contrivance, so artificial, so pyramided, that if any part of it breaks down, or if our efforts along the lines that have produced it are interrupted or relaxed, vast harm and certain decadence may—in fact, will—occur. Man has to a considerable extent become the master of his world; he must definitely assume mastery more and more. In brief, the problem of control of physical, biological, and social forces becomes more pertinent and necessary every day. More and more we of this modern world are forced into ceaseless auto-evolution. Advance increasingly necessitates advance. Research and contrivance must be carried further.

The social sciences are relatively less fit at this moment to assume these obligations than the natural sciences, due to their shorter history and their adolescent technique. But no one will deny that they have an equally important part to play in a world which is good for human living. They need a knowledge of social processes that will give them the same control in the realm of social relations that the natural sciences have over nature. They must be put upon a firm scientific basis, develop methods appropriate to the difficult, peculiar, and relatively uncontrollable cause and effect relationships they must deal with, collect reliable and accurate data, properly co-ordinate and integrate the results, and then make the constructive applications.

A second problem arises out of certain effects of the situation just discussed. I refer to the vast increase of population. Lavasseur estimated the population of Europe at

the beginning of the eighteenth century at about 90 millions and Voltaire at 107 millions. Süssmilch in the middle of the century placed it at 130 millions. At the close of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815, Rossiter estimates that the European population amounted to about 194,500,000, and if the people of European descent in America and elsewhere throughout the world were counted it would amount to about 210 millions. The combined population of Europe and people of European descent in the Americas, Asia, Africa, Australia, and elsewhere in 1915-16 was reliably estimated at 645 to 650 millions. Thus European peoples more than trebled in a little over a century, and in two centuries increased to at least six times their numbers. In 1830, according to the best estimates, the population of the world as a whole was about 850,000,000. At present the world contains approximately 1,700,000,000 to 1,750,000,000 people. This means that the world's population has doubled in the last century. Roughly, the population of the world increases by the population of France every two years. Pearl shows that neither the most destructive war in all history, with its toll of nearly 11 million combatants (Bogart), nor the most serious epidemic since the Middle Ages, the influenza scourge, caused more than a momentary hesitation in the march of population growth. Can this human expansion continue indefinitely and what problems does it bring?

There is first the relationship of increasing numbers to the trend of resources. That the world's various resources are capable of great and possibly heretofore unthought of expansion is certain, but it is equally certain that the returns to human effort expended in satisfying human wants do not remain constant. The fundamental fact of ultimate diminishing returns and increasing costs must be faced. This eventually produces the strain between resources and population, for while there is an inherent power in human beings to multiply their numbers without limit, the power of the earth to increase its resources is limited. New processes of cultivation and manufacture, newly opened lands, new inventions capable of converting heretofore unused materials to human use, substitutes of one kind or another, newly devised improvements in distribution, may temporarily suspend the law of diminishing returns and enable an increased store of goods to be secured without corresponding increase of cost, and the improved means of production may for a while keep pace with growing numbers, but eventually population by expanding into the new supply available brings its own check and the unavoidable process again begins to operate. The problem of feeding, clothing, warming and housing expanding populations will become increasingly acute and the needs will have to be met.

Furthermore, the problem of the growth of populations and its attendant problems of national expansion are not merely local nor even national in character; they are international problems of a most vital and crucial nature. They are inextricably and causally involved in such matters as international economic specialization, international trade, tariffs, foreign markets, hogging of colonies, aggressive commercialism, imperialism, militarism, and international hatreds and jealousies. The acquisition of colonies or foreign markets is a vital necessity for overcrowded countries, for colonies are places where surplus populations are dumped, where new resources are worked up for home consumption, and where new markets to absorb home manufactures are developed. This tends to lead to imperialism, colony-grabbing, militarism, and inevitably to war. It has been said that the real enemy of the dove of peace is the stork.

An appalling list of social, ethical, and political problems grows out of population increase that must be met. There are the problems of the city—housing, traffic, a new family ethic, a new type of education, recreation, sanitation and health, crime, and distribution. There are all the problems of governing expanding and increasingly discordant populations. There are the problems of the migrating peoples, including their restriction or assimilation. There are the problems growing out of the forced race contacts, with the present threatened alliance of the colored races against the white. There are the increased possibilities of exploitation of entire peoples and acute problems of class cleavage. There are the problems of education, and a host of others.

Now a certain population minimum is necessary for the industrial and cultural division of labor that provides for leisure and sane comfort. Up to a certain point as the size of the group increases cultural interstimulation becomes more rich, varied, and intense. The number and variety of ideas is increased as are also the opportunities for the selection of valuable ideas. But these advantages do not increase in direct ratio with population expansion. In fact, if population increases beyond a certain point a population pressure occurs which brings with it such a tightening of life and such a preoccupation with things physical that great masses of men cannot do the kind or quality of living that they are capable of and heir to. In general, excessive population levies a terrific biological, economic, and social tax on a people.

Has the race demonstrated that it improves indefinitely as its numbers saturate the earth? Should life be merely a process of finding new land, planting it, harvesting the crop, eating it, reproducing, populating heaven, and repeating the process endlessly? Are there not still those who

do not want "man" written all over the countryside, those who prefer open spaces here and there—even wilderness—and who would choose a life that permits the spirit to spread its wings? The universal control of human fecundity is probably one of the greatest problems before the scientist. The very near future may bring a League of Low Birth Rate Nations.

Another situation that the social theorist looks upon with some dismay (incidentally an attitude that he shares with many other scientists) has to do with the quality of the population. A distorted survival differential exists between the ill-endowed as to nature and nurture and the well-endowed. The degenerate, the feeble-minded, the shiftless, the very poor, the chronically dependent, and even the lower occupational groups are exceedingly prolific; while the population elements that are from most points of view biologically and socially better are tending toward extinction. While the death rate is still higher among the less capable stocks than among the more capable, due to public and semi-public health agencies, it is rapidly falling. Nowhere among civilized peoples is the death rate high enough to greatly reduce the significance of the general birth differential. Hence the survival differential is most serious in its effects. We are told that the lowest sixes of the population of England produces onehalf of the rising generation, and that in this country the lowest one-fourth produces approximately half of the next generation. It may be parenthetically stated that the fact is unquestioned that shiftlessness, low mental caliber, stupidity, and incompetency are more common in these lower classes than in the population in general and that the people are in these classes as a result of processes of selection. Those who find themselves there as the result of misfortune, such as death in the family, accident, the tragedies

of war, unemployment, or disaster, do tend in time to

pull themselves out.

The result of this survival differential that must be anticipated is that the naturally well-endowed will, as time goes on, become a smaller and smaller part of the coming generations, with a general tendency to progressive racial

deterioration as an inevitable consequence.

In view of the problem of quantity of population previously discussed, it would seem that in coping with this present problem the wise policy would be a socially acceptable process of gradual elimination of the most defective stocks and making available contraceptive knowledge for the rest, for no one will deny that contraception has been the final, though not the only factor in the low birth rate of the upper 50-75 per cent of the population. It is needless to say that any present civilization which permits its less competent elements to dominate numerically will go the way of ancient and extinct civilizations which permitted this, regardless of the type of mis-selective processes in operation.

Another problem that is continually bearing in upon the social theorist has to do with the uses of science. In recent years science has been much blamed for its non-moral indifferent attitude toward human welfare, and its willingness to lend it marvelous resources to the forces of degeneration and destruction as well as construction. New inventions have been as fruitful in producing more and more effective ways of destroying the life and work of man as they have in protecting and promoting them. Now in any consideration of science it must be borne in mind that it is not a force in itself, but a liberator and utilizer of forces, merely an instrumentality or tool. As such, it is a mute, impartial, and non-moral agent or machine, capable of being put to any use that the wit of man devises. The vast

powers, the command of energy transcending conception which it gives, is the servant of whatever aims men choose, making it a tremendous power for good or evil. Science makes any action more effective. The moral responsibility for its uses, therefore, rests upon the men who direct its employments, and the standards and desires of the

groups in which it is employed.

It is entirely possible that science misapplied may cause to vanish all the garnered products of centuries of endeavor-art and literature, law and ethics, together with the control of the physical processes of the universe which is the boast of our day. Sir Richard Gregory in the Presidential Address before the British Association in 1921 said, "Like the gifts of God, those of science can be made either a blessing or a curse, to glorify the human race or destroy it; and upon civilized man himself rests the decision as to the course to follow. With science as an ally, and the citadels of ignorance and self as the objective, he can transform the world, but if he neglects the guidance which knowledge gives . . . this planet will become a place of dust and ashes."

Since the attitude of science is influenced by public opinion, this means in the last analysis that society itself must want to escape setback or destruction and to apply scientific discoveries constructively and ethically. In this all who in any way influence group opinion have a responsibility.

A further perplexity centers around democracy. Since the prevailing form of political organization of the Western world has come to be democracy in some form or is on the way to becoming democracy, the contemporary weaknesses of democracy or the conditions that impair its proper functioning are of vital significance.

One of the first difficulties to be noticed is the lethargy and unconcern of the rank and file. Now the rank and file, the average men, are dominated by routine and tradition, they are suspicious of ideas, for them thinking is irksome, they resort to generalities and rule-of-thumb whenever possible, they care little about the future if the present is tolerable, and they do not want to be bothered with politics any more than their major interests demand. And yet, since votes are counted, not weighed, the rank and file, because of their numbers, have become the rulers, the shapers of democracy's ideals, the selectors of its policies, and arbiters of its destinies. The results of this situation have been various. There is the relative indifference to political affairs as shown by the small proportion of the electorate voting, the inability or unwillingness to face great political issues, especially those of an international nature. There is the patent fact discovered by the political spellbinder, the professional reformer, the well-rewarded propagandist, that if a skillful appeal is made to the prejudices, or fixed ideas, or the emotions of the rank and file, it never fails to bring a favorable response. There is also incompetence and waste and manipulation of those in public office, disreputable politics, demagoguery, and a host of other unfortunate and sinister political conditions that need not be enumerated for anyone who has lived through the last eight years of American political life with his eyes open.

Complexity of life and divergence of interest is another complicating factor. Democracy seems to be breaking down as practical government from the sheer weight of its extension in size and complexity. The scope, variety, and intricacy of the local, state, national, and international questions and issues, upon which the citizen is now called upon to pass, are increasing in almost geometrical ratio. Even the best read man finds himself constantly balked

by insufficient knowledge and inadequate interpretation, and is mortified by his incompetence.

Especially in America we also have to contend with the fact that we are a heterogeneous and in many respects a poorly assimilated mass of diverse nationalities and even races, with differences of religion, language, social status, and political traditions, resulting in a multiplicity of cleavages, wide and varying prepossessions, and divided allegiances. And groups which are not on an intellectual and cultural level are not susceptible to intellectual appeals or ideas nor are they capable of rational decision. Emotions are all they have in common. Hence the emotional nature of many of our American campaigns with their grotesqueries and absurditites, e.g., the recent Chicago mayoralty campaign. We have also the participation of a considerable number of inadequately schooled people who are easily swayed and controlled, vote without thinking or as they are told, and dilute the influence of the competent elements. Our exceedingly great expanse of territory with its diverse climatic and industrial conditions, has also produced a variety of sectional interests that make political unity difficult.

Especially in the last half century or so the forces of wealth have been corrupting and misdirecting democracy. A more or less fluctuating group of very wealthy men, loosely united, with their retainers, have through their wealth and prestige and power gained an enormous, if not preponderating influence over the various departments of government and public opinion. In furthering their own ends they have again and again cast their shadow directly athwart our proper political functioning and have been parties to corruption and connivance. Through their widespread control of the press and other agents of opinion they have been able to disqualify and frustrate opposition, con-

fuse issues, and misinterpret meanings and consequences. These and a host of other situations do prevent democracy

from functioning as it should.

Another social trend that the social theorist, particularly the historically minded social theorist, views with some alarm is the increasing materialization of contemporary life. Our present civilization is tending to make of production and economic goods, not the fitting means of satisfying reasonable and legitimate needs, but ends in themselves. Instead of devoting itself to the cultivation of the peculiarly human phases of life after men have been made sufficiently comfortable and given sufficient leisure, our modern world has concentrated attention upon monetary returns and the forms of consumption that are conspicuously opulent.

On the production side activities are characterized either by a furious competition which results in expensive duplication, or by powerful combinations that result in as much exploitation of the public as it permits. Resources are so recklessly exploited as to imperil the nation's future; omnipresent and world-wide advertising intrigues every last individual to buy things without end; output is expanded or restricted, regardless of general well-being, in order to regulate price and resultant profit; every situation, constructive or destructive, is turned into an occasion for financial gain, and every possible available agency is manipulated to this end. Even the nation in the time of its travail becomes the opportunity for a profiteering debauch.

On the consumption side this materialism has led to an emphasis on conspicuous display and a materialization of cultural values. Most of us are, above all, bent upon outstripping our neighbors in the invidious display of things. This has made a kind of universal prodigality obligatory among all classes, and has resulted in making life a sort of

gross and vulgar orgy—a sort of opulent but coarse barbarism. Evidences of wealth are supposed to be a sign of cleverness; income is inferred from expenditures; social approval depends upon the appanages of riches, and success is measured in dollars. The spiritual values, the true culture, and the real service of the good and the true and the abiding gives way before the shabby and tawdry display of monetary values.

Among the truths which time has demonstrated is that materialism, regardless of how it is fostered among a people, inevitably brutalizes them, makes them low-minded, and leads to deterioration, and sometimes to extinction. It seems to an increasing host of patriots that it is necessary to get back to fundamentals and face the fact that the purpose of economic activity is to provide an environment and other agents favorable to the development of the human stature that is potential in us, and that a "pecu-

niary" culture is not a true and abiding one.

The last situation to be presented is the prevailing attitude toward beauty. It seems to some that beauty is neglected in most districts and among most people, and that ugliness, unnecessary ugliness, is commonplace. Reference need only be made to almost any block of Main Street, any right-of-way, any waterfront; to our jerry-built residence districts, our newspapers, much of our popular music, our billboards, many of our monotonously standardized produucts. The sense for beauty is little cultivated in our lives, and there is surprisingly little effort to create it in our environments. In fact, we have become so habituated to ugliness that it is not disturbing; its challenge for the majority of people does not seem very worth while or provocative either of serious regard or consideration. Even among the intelligent people there is apt to be a feeling that beauty at best is ornamental and hence superficial—not bound up intimately and inextricably with life. And art is put into the same category. For many art is a foolish epithet, associated with museums, an embroidered dissipation for wastrels, that the full blooded he-man will not tolerate. Even many of those of the educated classes, who have cultivated their own taste, and have imparted something of grace and charm to their own surroundings, have come to take the

prevailing ugliness as a matter of course.

And yet beauty gives to a culture a depth and poise and quality that cannot be dispensed with. For when we have beauty we have those attributes and relationships of things, or situations, or thoughts, or sounds, that give men a mystical inner joy, a poignant sense of harmony, a buoyancy of soul, an exaltation and even sublimation of self. In beauty there is an absence of irrelevant elements, a fitness and rightness, a perfection of form. When a man becomes conscious of beauty he is uplifted, impersonalized, spiritualized; he has a type of perfect experience and fully lives. For a group beauty tends toward the freeing, ordering, and perfecting of life; it refreshes, enhances, exalts.

It is obvious that there can be no notable realization of great selves, no approximate spiritual fulness, no complete harmony, no living on a high plane, if there is not beauty. No civilization can be lovely in attainments whose daily

living is ugly.

There are a host of other problems that might well be discussed—problems that from the point of view of long-time, general well-being appear to social thinkers to be not wholly good. Among these might be mentioned the general repudiation of idealists—those blue-print makers of the future, the nature of the more influential agents in forming public opinion, the changing family in this modern age, and the contemporary situation regarding the inevitable contact of the races. But time does not permit a

more extensive discussion. If, however, the diagnoses that have been made are correct, or even partially correct, then they concern situations that rest heavily upon all thinking men, for thinking men have always played the leading rôle in making the world this or that.

Encouraging is the fact, though, that modern men are ready, or making ready, to face the problems of social, political, religious, and economic organization, to ponder the question whether the world can really be made good for all men. More and more men have the necessary scientific insight into these problems, more people than ever before are grasping at methodical experimentalism and honest analysis. The disposition to challenge and to crossexamine practices, institutions, and principles, is gradually undermining the popular faith in prejudices, symbols, and formulas which have hitherto produced inertia if not obstacles. "Imagination has got used to seeing 'impossible' things done in a large way, and the achievement has rendered us docile, more receptive alike to the lessons of experience and to entertainment of strange ideas, of new possibilities."

# FORCES AFFECTING HUMAN SOCIETY

# A Brief Classification

#### EARLE EDWARD EUBANK

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Human beings may be moved to activity in two ways: first, by the power of physical forces which are external to their wills, and which operate upon them directly, as upon any other material substance; and second, by the power of their own inner emotions, which do not in themselves perform any action at all, but which stimulate the mind to a desire to act. The activity itself, whether or not it is the result of a desire, is produced by some dynamic element or quality inherent in the universe which we call physical energy, whose ultimate character we do not comprehend.

Aware of our ignorance as to its true nature, "energy" is recognized in everyday affairs as the power or capacity for producing a result. In our common speech it is often used synonymously with "force." The physicist, however, makes a distinction, reserving the latter word to mean a manifestation of energy which appears when resistance is encountered, explaining that "energy" itself has nothing to do with resistance, but applies merely to the dynamic cosmic quality which is able to effect a consequence of some kind. As a matter of fact, however, we have no way of perceiving energy until it does encounter resistance. Frictionless motion (in the absence of marking posts to indicate elapsed space) would be imperceptible to the senses, as is demonstrated in the earth's diurnal rotations and

orbital procession which we do not feel as movements at all. "Force," then, may be considered as *energy manifested*. While not quite synonymous to nor interchangeable with "energy," it is one of its closest companion concepts, since it is the common mode in which energy is displayed, and by means of which it is comprehended.<sup>1</sup>

Now, what is the result whenever "energy," as manifested in "force," is expended upon an object? It is always a change of some kind, either of position or condition, from the one existing before the energy was exerted. It is always, and necessarily, expressed in some relation to movement, involving either (1) an initiation of movement, (2) an increase of movement (whether of velocity or intensity, (3) an diminution of movement (whether of velocity or intensity), (4) a termination of movement, (5) a deviation in the direction of movement, or (6) a transformation from one kind of movement to another (e.g., from molar to molecular, as when the blow of a hammer, molar, is transformed into heat in the anvil, molecular).

Note further that wherever physical energy is exerted there is an element of compulsion, ordinarily perceived in a necessary relation of cause and effect. If we strike the ball it is obliged to move; if the wind blows, the leaves necessarily flutter; if the steam in the cylinder expands, either the piston or the cylinder walls must change position. If a resistance is offered which is equivalent to the energy expended there will be a neutralization of the opposing forces which will result in a seemingly unchanged position or condition; but it is a seeming condition only, for physics lays down the law that for every action there

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While from the standpoint of exactitude of language "energy" would be the preferable term to use in referring to the dynamic element in psychic as well as in physical phenomena, the term "force," appearing repeatedly in our frequent phrase of "social forces," has such a sociological currency that it shall be given preference, since confusion may result from a shift to the less frequent word.

is an equal and opposite reaction, whether or not it be gaugeable by the senses. In other words, whenever energy is manifested it must of necessity be followed by a modification of some kind, whether perceptible or not. Every display of physical energy throughout the universe would, were it possible to connect it with some registering device, inevitably and invariably record upon the dial some degree

of pressure however great or small.

All tangible changes of any kind within the universe result from some application of physical energy. Every material change of whatever kind is the consequence of an effective antecedent power coming from nature. This is not only true of man's body and its natural environment; it is also true of those mores, activities, institutions, and all other phenomena, non-material or material, which we designate as societary. But it is also true that physical forces operating alone and without the medium of the mind could never produce the phenomena of society. They can only do so by means of being directed by intelligence and in response to human desires. It is the presence of psychic "forces," some of which in turn become societary, that accounts for the associated life of mankind and its activities and products.

Physical forces may be divided into those operating

mechanically and those operating vitalistically.

The mechanical forces are those which operate upon matter purely "objectively," that is, as passive, inert substance, wholly acted upon, and not being an active, participating agent at all. They manifest themselves within four limits, each corresponding to the range of matter in which they are perceived: the range of the electron, or electronic; of the atom, or atomic; of the molecule, or molecular; of the mass, or molar (including interstellar and cosmic forces in general).

The vitalistic forces are those which operate within living organisms, but only in their biological, vital phases, as distinguished from those which are controlled through the mind. This includes both those of which it is unaware (such as most of its bio-chemical processes, many of its physiological functionings, and all unconscious body movements), and those of which it is aware, but which—like the involuntary reflexes—are not subject to its volitional control.

If there were no mind in living creatures there would be no occasion to consider energy in any other than its mechanistic and vitalistic forms; but the fact that living creatures possess the characteristic of mentality, one of whose chief attributes we call "will," introduces a most significant variant into the operation of physical energy as such. Where this is present the organism is no longer a merely passive object of forces over which it has no control; it becomes a conscious and self-activating participator in the activity. More than this, it is endowed with powers (within certain limits) both to initiate and to control many of the manifestations of physical energy, and in particular those related to its own body. In the one case the affected object is object only, having no choice nor volition whatsoever; whereas in the latter case the organism itself is the subject, and the volition of the organism as subject is the very essence of the stimulus to activity.

The impulses to voluntary action which are generated within the conscious minds of living creatures we are accustomed to designate as psychical energy or force, as distinguished from the physical. Before they pass into action they take form in the mind as subjective motivations of some kind. Like all other states of consciousness they fall into two fairly distinguishable classes. The first is the unreflective spontaneous and impulsive, guided (if it is

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guided by the mind at all) only by the emotional pressure of the immediate moment, without intelligence being called in to assist in the formation of a judgment. Whatever there are of instincts, predispositions, and innate impulses constitute the lower level of the unreflective; while those involving the more complex form of "feelings" may be placed upon a higher lexel. The second or reflective class consists of those motivations which, whether wise or unwise, effective or ineffective, have been formed upon the selective basis of a judgment derived from some degree of antecedent thought or selection. They are rational choices, expressed in desires, wishes, and deliberate volitions in general.

It becomes apparent that "force" as used in the psychic realm has a sense different from that when used in the physical; for strictly speaking, this so-called psychic force is not a force at all, since in itself it has no motor capacity for producing a result. It must be recognized as will rather than as capacity. It cannot of itself produce change, it can only desire to set in motion the physical power that will produce change. Physical force is compulsive, and when it is put forth a change of some kind must occur following the immutable sequence of cause and effect; whereas psychic force is impulsive, stimulative, provocative, strongly promptive to action, but is not inevitably followed by a change. The one is an effective power; the other is not a compelling power at all, but a motivation. The first is causally related to sequential action, the second is simply a mental readiness for action. In the case of the former, a behavior of the affected elements must ensue; in the case of the latter, it may ensue. The one is the power-to-act; the other is only the will-to-act.

This fundamental difference becomes more pronounced when we observe that psychic force must of necessity remain ineffective until it can summon a physical force to its assistance; for no matter how urgent a desire may be it is nothing but a state of mind till some physical instrumentality is found for releasing it in the form of overt action. Thus for example, a starving man may wish for food with every ounce of psychic force in his being, and still be unsatisfied; it is only by employing the physical energies of his muscles that he will succeed in securing, preparing, and masticating it, all of which must be done before he can be satisfied.

The distinction made here, vital as it is, has not always been made clear in the discussions of the subject, and confusion has sometimes resulted from treating psychic impulsions to action as if they were de facto forces. Until we recognize them for what they are—not as inexorable, resistless powers that compel, but incentives grounded in some form of personal choice that impel, human behavior—can we intelligently consider them as related to societary force.

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Psychology recognizes three qualities of mental powers: The first is that of cognition, or simple perception and apprehension; the second is that of feeling, or capacity to experience and to differentiate between satisfaction and dissatisfaction, pleasure and pain; the third is the motive aspect, the desires and volitions which urge to action, which Kant referred to as conation. This term, adopted by Sir William Hamilton in his Metaphysics, applies to every active or exertive aspect of conscious mental life, whether of impulse, or of rational determination, as contrasted with the passive qualities of cognition and feeling. Ward has introduced this concept as fundamental to his scheme of thought, using it to cover "the efforts which organisms put forth in seeking the satisfactions of their desires," the ends thus sought being designated as "the ends of conation."

These, in turn, he classifies as direct and indirect, according to whether or not satisfaction is sought by intellectual assistance.<sup>2</sup> These correspond generally, though not precisely, to the above suggested divisions of the spontaneous and the reflective. The so-called societary "forces," which are not compulsory energizations at all, but impulsory, subjective motivations, belong therefore to the category of "conations," and particularly to those which are reflective.

The following outline suggests the relation which the various forces hold with reference to one another:

# Brief Classification of THE FORCES AFFECTING HUMAN SOCIETY

#### I PHYSICAL FORCES: COMPULSORY

Occurring in nature without directive consciousness or volition on the part of man, but subject, within limits, to human control.

#### 1. Mechanistic

Those which by inorganic processes operate upon man as matter, "objectively," i.e., as passive, inert substance, wholly acted upon. Any change that takes place is without subjective participation of the medium affected. These grouped according to the area of operations are:

- a. electronic
- b. atomic
- c. molecular
- d. molar (including cosmic)

#### 2. Vitalistic

Those which by organic processes induce changes within man as a living substance and body. Any change that takes place is by reason of some animate potentiality within the medium affected, which is an active, but chiefly involuntary participant in the ensuing process. These forces are biochemical and biophysical.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Dynamic Sociology, Vol. II, pp. 93-102. See also Psychic Factors of Civilization, chap. 6, and Pure Sociology, chap. 8.

#### II PSYCHICAL FORCES: IMPULSORY

Operating solely by means of human consciousness and volition. Not energies in themselves, but subjective motivations, conations, which induce men to exert physical energy.

- Spontaneous Conations (chiefly direct): operating without the
  active presence of intelligence or reflection. These take the
  form of impulses: instincts, predispositions, biological urges
  and drives; and all tendencies to act growing out of undisciplined feelings and emotions, insofar as they operate without previous deliberation.
- Reflective Conations (chiefly indirect): involving some degree, however slight, of premeditation and antecedent thought. These take the form of rational determinations: desires, wishes, wants, deliberate volitions, choices, etc.

All conations, spontaneous or reflective, involved in any given situation, in order to become a "force," must by synthesized, mobilized, into single "attitude" or set-for-action, directed toward some "value." When the attitude becomes kinetic it takes the form of an "action."

A further point in this connection requires clarification. While all societary force is of necessity psychical, all psychical forces are not societary. A confusion of long standing still crops out from time to time in the usage of the two adjectives. When they stand alone we ordinarily have no difficulty, but when we begin to discuss the phenomena of human association they have a way of becoming crossed. Sometimes, because there can be nothing which is truly social that does not originate in human minds, they are used as virtually synonymous. At other times they are treated as if they were antithetical, and phenomena classified as "psychic" are regarded, by implication at least, as beyond the purlieus of the "social," and vice versa. Much of the distinction made when comparing Sociology, Psychology, and Social Psychology partakes of this confusion.

Since they are adjectives related to wholly different and non-contrastable categories of fact they should not be ex-

pressed in antithesis.

"Psychical" refers to phenomena of the mind, of mentality, as they are distinguished in practical usage from those of the physical world. "Social" (and its preferable synonym, "societary") refers to those phenomena which involve human beings plurally, as contrasted with the individual and singular, unrelated to other persons. The relation among these four is the following:

- I Physical Forces: of or pertaining to the material universe. These may relate to people individually or collectively, as parts of the physical world, but because the psychic element is lacking they cannot relate to them socially.
- II Psychical Forces: of or pertaining to mentality. They may
  - Individual: manifested as the separate action of a single mind, and not resulting from nor related to interaction between persons; and
  - Societary (social):manifested of necessity within the individual mind, but resulting from, or in some way related to human collectivities.

# MOTHER INDIA'S ANSWER

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The writer of this article is a Hindu. He was born in India, and lived and labored there for about thrice as many years as Katherine Mayo spent weeks in her whirlwind trip through India in the winter of 1925–26. It may, therefore, not savor of presumption if he should essay, in the name of the real Mother India, whom, alas! Miss Mayo's vision was too strabismic and opaque to even glimpse—to answer the sneer that underlies the very title of the book, *Mother India*, all through which "she gives the impression of inspecting a colony of mud-beetles" rather than human beings.

That Miss Mayo was "unsubsidized, uncommitted and unattached" before starting for India is a claim which has been seriously questioned. The tone of her penultimate product, The Isles of Fear, and of the foreword to the English edition thereof penned by Lionel Curtis in August, 1925, the help given her by the Publicity Department of the British Government in India in collecting material for the book, the supply of 5,000 copies of the book on its publication gratis to "the right persons" including all the members of the British Parliament and even former members at a time when the personnel of the Statutory Commission to take evidence on the working of the Reform and to make findings for or against the granting of a Constitution to India was being seriously discussed, are not the only strange coincidences that surround the preparation of the book. It is one of the unfortunate incidents—perchance necessities—of "civilization" that when a nation or group of peoples is governed by an alien race, it is to the interest of the latter to make out that those upon whom it imposes its rule are of a race inferior to itself. Indeed, it is to the interest of alien rulers to make the ruled inferior and to keep them in that state, all the while professing solicitude for raising the inherently low estate of the "natives."

In earlier times the ruling pretences of superiority and philanthropy were predominantly theological. Today they proceed on assumptions of a higher cultural and sociological development. Katherine Mayo quotes, with evident approval, the wildly nonsensical saying of some Anglo-Indian to the effect that the crime of the British Government in India is that it has stood protector to the awful system of darkness and oppression, which, if left to the mercy of the harder races of Asia, would long ago have been swept into the void. "Here perhaps," says the former editor of the Statesman, of Calcutta, S. K. Radcliffe, in the New Republic, "we have the booby-prize remark from a Westerner about India. There are more than three hundred million of Indian people; and the one thing we know about them which is above and beyond all controversy, is that they are one of the very few eternal races of mankind, being rooted in a social system which has withstood the storms of at least thirty centuries."

Miss Mayo professes that she went to India to see what a volunteer "could observe of common things in daily human life." And on page 22 of her book she gives one of her fundamental observations repeated throughout the book in various forms and corollaries:

The Indian girl, in common practice, looks for motherhood nine months after reaching puberty—or anywhere between the ages of fourteen and eight. The latter age is extreme, although in some sections not exceptional; the former is well above the average.

This statement is either culpably careless or simply untrue. The attempt is made to buttress it up, in part, with a reference to a sentence in an appendix to the Census of India, 1921. But an examination of the Census itself clearly establishes these facts: (1) that marriage among the Hindus is as a rule merely irrevocable betrothal, after which the bride continues to stay with her parents, (2) that after she reaches puberty another ceremony is performed, after which only may the marriage be consummated,1 (3) that "owing to the obloquy incurred by Hindu parents who have failed to marry (betroth) their girls before puberty, there is a strong inclination to understate the age of unmarried girls who have reached this age"; (4) that only 399 out of every 1,000 girls are yet married at the end of their fifteenth year.3 About 60 per cent of Indian girls are thus almost seventeen before motherhood is at all possible for them. They are seventeen or eighteen before it is probable.

Further, the only available statistics on this subject are the carefully collected data of Dr. M. I. Balfour, M. B., of Bombay from her own cases as also from her examination of the reports of Maternity Hospitals in Madras and other parts, which were published by her in the *Times of India* for October 10, 1927. They show that of 6,580 cases from different parts of India of mothers with first babies, none was under 13 years old, 7 were recorded as 13, and 35 as under 15. The average age for first motherhood in Bombay was 18.7 years and in Madras 19.4 years. Of Dr. Balfour's attested cases from many parts of India less than 1 per cent were mothers before they were 15 and none

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<sup>1</sup> Census of India, 1921, Vol. I, chap. VII, p. 151.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 127.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., pp. 164-65.

before they were 13. Says Dr. Balfour: "I think the figures I have given show that the cases instanced by Miss Mayo do not in the least represent the common customs

of the country."

In 1891 the Age of Consent was fixed at 12 years by statute for all India. Miss Mayo speaks of the efforts of the British government in India to exercise persuasive pressure with a view to bringing about social and other reforms, and refers to the defeat of the bill to raise the age of consent in the Indian Legislature of 1926. She tells us that "the bill raising the age of consent to fourteen was finally thrown out, buried under an avalanche of popular disapproval." An analysis of the voting on the bill and its amendments, as well as a perusal of the debates thereon, clearly proves that a majority of the Hindu members were for raising the age of consent, and that the bill was defeated by the (British) official votes. With the exception of Mr. Chalmers, all the unofficial Britons also, including Sir Willoughby Carey, Colonel Crawford, Sir Henry Stanyon, and the Rev. Dr. MacPhail voted against it. Mrs. Margaret E. Cousins, Honorary Secretary of the Woman's Indian Association and first woman Honorary Magistrate in India says in the Modern Review of Calcutta for November, 1927, that various women's organizations with thousands of members petitioned the British government of India to raise the age of consent to sixteen years. "All these facts," says Mrs. Cousins, "Miss Mayo fails to note. Instead she descends to untruthful invention, when she says: 'The bill for raising the age of consent to fourteen was finally thrown out, buried under an avalanche of popular disapproval.' There was not a meeting held all over India to express disapproval of the raising of the age of consent. . . . We women definitely charge the British government with delaying social reforms for which the people of the country are ripe."

In this connection, it may not be amiss to note that the age of consent in England is 12 years. The same is true of some of the United States of America, such as Alabama and Mississippi. In the latter state an effort was recently made to raise the age of consent beyond 12 years. But it was buried under an avalanche of legislative disapproval, and the remarks of legislators in the debates opposing the raise make most unsavory reading.

It may be admitted that the marriage institution as it exists in India is not wholly satisfactory to the people of the country themselves. They are, therefore, working to bring about changes. But we should note that the marriage institution as it exists in Europe or America is not wholly satisfactory either, to Americans or Europeans. In India, Hindu reformers are working for, and are succeeding in, raising the age of marriage, as is proved by the successive census reports. In the West, on the contrary, reformers are advocating earlier marriages in the interest of morality. We also hear of trial marriage, companionate marriage, and other schemes to overcome the evils of the present-day marriage system of America and Europe. Neither West nor East can yet afford to be "cocksure" about its own marriage institution! Why, then, should either, in the name of science and enlightenment, resort to mendacity, and distort facts out of all recognition, to prove the other wrong?

Again, on pages 46 and 75 of her book,, Miss Mayo warns her readers against accepting at their face value the expressions of Hindu speakers and writers, and quotes from Rabindranath Tagore's essay on "The Indian Ideal of Marriage" to prove that the good gray poet of India, for foreign consideration, arrays in beautiful phraseology

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<sup>4</sup> In Keyserling's Book of Marriage, pp. 112-13.

his hideous advocacy of child marriage. Is Miss Mayo just simple or is she beneath the most ordinary literary honesty, when she deliberately leaves out the words "said India" and "such was the conclusion" in the two quotations from Tagore, which clearly show that he was therein giving the view of orthodox or fundamentalist India? Further on in the same essay, at pages 117 and 122 he gives his own exalted conception of marriage which he introduces with the paragraph:

"Let me, as an individual Indian, offer in conclusion my own personal contribution to the discussion of the mar-

riage question generally."

To say that Tagore advocates child marriage, whether in theory or practice, is as ridiculous as to say that the late ex-president Roosevelt advocated race suicide in the United States of America.

We also find that Miss Mayo attributes certain statements to Mahatma Gandhi and Miss Mona Bose (Principal of the Victoria Girls' College at Lahore) as having been made to herself by each. Each of them has pointed out how Miss Mayo has distorted some of their statements, and invented others, putting in their mouths statements about matters which were never touched upon by either in interviews granted to Miss Mayo.<sup>5</sup> Can Miss Mayo have done any better with the numerous anonymities into whose mouths she puts condemnatory statements against India?

Miss Mayo makes the boast: "The preceding chapters of this book state living facts of India today" (p. 409). Yet we find her quoting extensively from a book first published in 1816 by the Abbé Dubois who only knew the Tamil language of Dravidian India and lived exclusively

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> See Young India, Sept. 15, 1927; Forward, Oct. 29, 1927; Modern Review, Sept. and Oct., 1927; and the Indian Witness.

in Southern India. But Miss Mayo quotes his statements as true not only of one place, but of all India, a hundred and ten years after he wrote. She also quotes long passages purporting to be translations of Sanscrit texts ostensibly done by the Abbé, who did not know Sanscrit. And she caps her performance by downright inventions such as that in the very commencement of her book (page 3) when she tells us on the first page of her Introduction, speaking of Calcutta: "In the courts and alleys and bazaars many little bookstalls, where narrow-chested, nearsighted, anaemic young Indian students, in native dress, brood over piles of fly-blown Russian pamphlets." This is a malicious invention to prejudice the English and American reader with the cry of Bolshevism in the very first page of the book. For under the Post Office and Sea Customs Acts all such literature is not only proscribed but confiscated by the police. And if a stray tourist like Miss Mayo could see piles of such literature in numerous bookstalls, the police must be blind indeed not to have known about the same! And whatever the British police may be, they certainly are not blind-especially where Russian propaganda is concerned. But this is a fairy tale, like many another of Miss Mayo's concoction.

Or, again, take the story she tells on page 314, as an incident which occurred in 1920, which she puts into the mouth of an "American of long Indian experience, whose veracity has never . . . been questioned." Miss M. M. Underhill, one of the ablest of India's English missionaries, says in the October number of the *International Review of Missions*:

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In a book announced as "totally unlike any other book on India" one would not expect to come across the hackneyed statement of the hypothetical disappearance from Bengal—given certain circumstances—of virgins and rupees; yet here it is, quoted in all sincerity as original.

It seems unnecessary to pursue the matter further. Miss Mayo's book is "well documented." But the documents are often misquoted or misrepresented, and when not garbled they often fail to support the statements made in the book. She misquotes and misrepresents those whom she interviewed in India. She gets some of her "living facts of India today" from books written over one hundred years ago. She fills her book with statements of anonymities. She generalizes from alleged specific instances. And, finally, she resorts to deliberate invention of statements and events to fling mud at India and Indians—and that not only with impunity, but with profit.

# OCCUPATIONAL ATTITUDES AND VALUES OF RUSSIAN LUMBER WORKERS

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Preliminary Study of the Industrialization of a Rural Sectarian Group

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A vast majority of the older men in the Molokan colony of Los Angeles are engaged in the lumber industry as day laborers. This group offers a unique advantage for the study of social and economic conditions which underlie occupational attitudes, since the members of this group represent a high degree of homogeneity; they are of one nationality (Russians); of one religion (Spiritual Christians); they have the same culture (Molokanism); they have the same previous occupational history (farmers in the Caucasus); they are of the same age group (50-65 years); they live in the same district in Los Angeles (Boyle Heights); they have been in America about the same length of time (about twenty-five years).

Individual variations from and reactions to the common culture may be noted in this group, but for the most part common social experience indicates the existence in the group of common social attitudes and values.

An attitude is "a process of individual consciousness which determines real or possible activity in the social world." An "occupational attitude" is a tendency to re-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> W. I. Thomas and F. Znaniecki, The Polish Peasant in Europe and America, vol. I, p. 22.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See E. S. Bogardus, "Personality and Occupational Attitudes," Sociology and Social Research, Sept.-Oct., 1927, pp. 73-79; also "The Occupational Attitude," Journal of Applied Sociology, VIII, pp. 171-77.

spond or react to social situations in a way which is at least partially determined by the type of work-activities in which a given individual is engaged over a considerable period of time. Attitudes have an antecedent history, and it is necessary to know this history to understand the attitudes.<sup>3</sup> The chain of influences entering into a consideration of the occupational attitudes of the Molokan laborers in Los Angeles can be broadly classified thus:

The culture-complex of the group (with particular reference to the traditional notions of work; the occupational experiences in Russia; and the whole complex of the psycho-social traits of the worker).

The occupational environment, i.e., the economic and industrial "position" of a rural group in a modern city.

The fruits of labor (in terms of the four wishes: wages—security; "religious duty fulfilled"—security and recognition; social interaction—new experience and response).

That part of the Molokan culture which pertains to their occupational activities is not in its fundamentals widely different from the culture of any immigrant peasant group, but as religious sectarians the Molokans have developed social and religious ideals with respect to their work which set them off as possessing a distinct set of work attitudes and values.

Labor is not for material gain. Work with us is a religious duty. Work with us is natural. Our fathers and forefathers had been a simple hard-working folk since time immemorial. They believed in simple occupations—farming and cattle raising being the noblest professions of all. When Christ called for help he chose the farmers, the shepherds, the fishermen, but not the traders or the professionals. (An elder.)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> See Pauline V. Young, Social Heritages of the Molokane in Los Angeles, Master's Thesis, University of Southern California, 1926.

"The Molokane in Russia did not develop a system of criticism or reflection upon established custom." Loyalty to group tradition is expected from each member. Static conditions in the group were re-enforced by the fact that they were self-sufficing—there was sufficient work and support for every member. "Their outside contacts even with the economic world were too few and limited to arouse new attitudes and values." Common interests were a strong socializing force among them.

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The family group was an economic as well as a social unit, and the life of each member was bound up in the lives of the members of the whole household. Farming with the Molokane in Russia was a matter of custom. Occupations that have been tried and proven successful afford greater security, and solidarity of the group is more firmly established. It is of interest to note that among the Molokane in Russia the "wish for security" is chiefly fulfilled by conformity to group ideals and traditions. The wish for security manifests itself in the property-getting habit, in acquisitiveness. The Molokan teachings regarding humility and simplicity of life, however, greatly weaken the desire for property. These people strive chiefly for religious perfection.

We are a simple, hard-working people and don't concern ourselves with worldly goods. We are more concerned about spiritual possessions than material ones. (An elder.)

The whole family hold the land in common, work it in common, share it in common and do not become corrupted by personal wealth. In our farming we never thought of becoming rich, of accumulating goods. We worked for the support of our family. (An elder.)

The desires of the Molokane were largely satisfied by the religious and social life of the group. Conflicts were kept

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> See "Family Organization of the Molokans," Sociology and Social Research, Sept.-Oct., 1927, p. 55.

down to a minimum, and few opportunities for disorganization were present, as revealed in the following typical collective representations:

On the farm we lived a simple life, close to nature and God. We developed regular habits of work, and a sense of responsibility and conscientiousness.

Farmers don't tolerate idle folks, everybody has to work.

We are not gentlemen and don't wish to be such. We are peasants. We are all of the same world, we feel alike, we think alike, we are united by a common past of suffering and persecution. We all try to conduct ourselves in a manner that behooves good Molokane.

All Molokane, regardless of age, sex, or occupation are members of our "bratstvo" (brotherhood).

Economic advancement offers little inducement to the older Molokane, and among them economic classes have never emerged. The absence of a social division of labor among the Molokane in Russia is another important factor in the consideration of economic classes.

Social hierarchy among the Molokane is not based on wealth, family status, or social position. This type of social organization is possible chiefly under the influence of religion when honors are denied for the sake of an ideal.

It is against our religion for one man to consider himself better in any way than his fellows. We are all equal before God. The only superiority one man holds over another is in his years of experience and spiritual wisdom. (An elder.)

Such are in part the antecedent occupational experiences and the correlative philosophy of work which are an essential element in the immigrant heritages of the Molokan lumber workers in Los Angeles.

The Molokane are a "closed community," a "spiritual bratstvo," with profound attachment to their traditions. They show, therefore, a particularly strong tendency to

carry over their culture into the new environment which they encounter in America. "We worked before. It's true that the conditions in America are different from those in the Caucasus, but under any conditions we must remember our duty as Molokane." (An elder.)

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Here they face an entirely new situation with respect to earning a livelihood. The old elaborate mechanisms must be modified to suit the new economic and industrial conditions of American life, where community participation—at least in the industrial life—is inevitable from the very start.

When we came to this country we had to secure work promptly. We could not enter farming, we had no money to buy land, stock, tools. We were in a strange country, with debts for the journey, and many of us penniless. We let our women go to work first thinking that shortly we might be able to work out some way which would engage the whole family as farming did in Russia. As the weeks went by we were glad enough to get any kind of work and thanked God for the opportunity. Count Demenz (a lumber magnate in Los Angeles) knew that we were hard-working, and responsible, and he hired scores of our brothers to grade lumber in the yards. We are used to hard work and we like hard work. Work is a blessing to a man and his family, and a duty he owes to God. (An elder.)

Molokanism has a very definite and precise meaning to all those who identify themselves with the Molokan community. The pride with which their customs are followed has engendered the feeling that makes the Molokane a brotherhood. The strong esprit-de-corps and the unusually high morale of the group accounts in large measure for the persistence of their previous work philosophy in their present economic and social environment. In the process of transition, however, their earlier work philosophy has undergone considerable modification.

For the lack of a better term we may call the traditional work attitudes and values carried over into a new occupation with some modifications conditioned work attitudes and values. The Russian experiences and the religious attitudes which were developed in a situation quite different from that existing in American life are nevertheless the most important conditioning factors which help to explain the behavior of the Molokan laborers in American industrial life. Chief among these attitudes are: subordination to master-employer (an outgrowth of obeying elders); absence of economic classes (denial of ranks and titles undoubtedly due to a lack of division of labor); dignity of labor (previously dignity of farming); the family as an economic unit (an outgrowth of their comparatively isolated life), etc.

Complementary to the conditioned occupational attitudes and values are the individual psycho-social traits which have aided the Molokane in their adjustment to their new industrial environment.

These Russians are very satisfactory workers; they are robust, husky fellows, well adapted to hard work. They are steady in their habits. Their religion forbids them to drink and we can count on everyone showing up Monday morning. They are very patient workers and have remarkable resistance to unfavorable conditions.

They are humble, take orders willingly, they don't grumble about their work. They are satisfied with conditions and wages, and are a pleasant and happy group. Some of these Molokans have been working here since their arrival in Los Angeles twenty-five years ago.

Their great handicap is the language. Some of them can't put a sentence together in English in spite of their twenty-five years here. Another handicap is represented by their prolonged holidays. During Easter they stay away from work for a whole week. It's no use, we have to grant them the holidays or get along without them. Religion is a great asset to them in their work and we have to overlook their absence during the holidays. (Employers)

It is evident that the employers have to make certain adjustments to the Molokan lumber worker, but on the whole he fits into the scheme of things very well, and there are few opportunities for conflict between employer and laborer. There is a high degree of correlation between the requirements of the industry and the physical and social traits of the Molokan workers.

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Physical strength, steady work habits, high native intelligence, willingness to accept relatively low wages, dependability, the gospel of hard work, sobriety—are the great assets of a hired laborer, from the standpoint of the employer. To the worker his assets mean economic security; and the absence of conflict between himself and the wage-payer means stabilization of attitude, which from the point of view of a sectarian group is very desirable for the preservation of custom. Change is a strong challenge to the older Molokane. A group which is not spurred on by the "success motive" welcomes static conditions of work.

Though the Molokan worker was able to fall back on his customary philosophy of work, nevertheless, a new occupation develops new mechanisms, new adaptations which may have "a far reaching effect upon the organization of his personality."<sup>5</sup>

Conflict-attitudes arise out of the culture differences as well as of the differences in the economic-industrial environments between the North Caucasus and America.

When the Molokane came to this country the economic organization of the group was completely changed. They came from an area in which economic self-sufficiency predominated, directly into an area in which money, wages, division of labor prevailed. "Until this day I have not gotten completely used to receiving wages for my work and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> See R. E. Park, "Human Nature and Collective Behavior," American Journal of Sociology, March, 1927.

buying food for my wages. We are used to work and derive our living directly from our labor." (Molokan man)

The wage system of a modern industrial society called for many new adjustments in the life of this rural farming group. "Our wages are low, and food in the city is high. We are hired laborers, seasonal workers, and we have to stretch our earnings over 'rainy days.'"

The desire for security has grown stronger since their coming to America. However, they accumulate property chiefly for their immediate needs during slack seasons.<sup>6</sup>

Absence from work during the holidays has tended to cause conflict in some instances, between the employer and the worker, and anxiety on the part of the employee who fears loss of his job. Holidays are occasions for many ceremonials and feastings in the Molokan colony in which all members of the group participate. These are some of the mechanisms which preserve group unity.

The older Molokane reflect much more readily upon the occupational situations of their children than upon their own situation. Retroactive attitudes<sup>7</sup> ("objective ways of looking at one's occupation") are not typical of a group like the older Molokan group among whom individualization gives place to socialization, and identity of interests and attention is more or less common. In the Molokan group personal experiences run counter to group experience. Everybody participates in the communal life of the colony. Individual experiences are made common in leisure time, in the sobranie. Another factor which minimizes the formation of "retroactive attitudes" is the amount of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> There are three or four older men in the group who had occumulated considerable money in cotton raising in Arizona, but they claim their chief aim was to raise sufficient money to buy enough farm land for the entire colony. They lost most of their capital, including the land, before their hopes were realized. See Peter Speek, A Stake in the Land, pp. 26, 31, 218.

<sup>7</sup> A term suggested by Dr. E. S. Bogardus.

attention devoted to the religious life of the group. Any occupation is taken more or less for granted. A man is called to a given occupation by destiny, and most of the older Molokane feel that as long as they satisfy their conscience by "doing their best" in their work, their attention can be turned to the religious and communal life of the group.

But the occupational situation of their children causes them anxiety because of the evidences of breaking away from the group.

We lose our children because we don't work together. In Russia we worked side by side, and the young people were interested in their work and their homes.

The city employment spoils our boys. They change jobs every few months. They are laid off, fired, or they themselves quit. They are hired for a few busy days. They become shiftless, have no chance to get attached to their work or boss. They look "for pay, for advancement." They have no conscience or responsibility. They only fill in.

We moved to a farm in Fresno on account of our boys. They were getting away from us. They were idle most of the time while in search of new jobs. On the farm there is enough work for the entire family. They like farming. It's in us. (Molokan parents)

Occupational negativism arises when a worker encounters conflicts in his occupation; occupational centrism<sup>8</sup> arises when he has succeeded in his occupation and his interests are strongly engaged in it. In the older Molokan group we notice neither occupational negativism nor occupational centrism to any marked degree. This situation may be partly due to the fact that they have no institutions by which they can promote the economic and industrial interests of the group. They are organized to carry on religious activities and devote their attention to them. The

<sup>8</sup> A term used by Dr. E. S. Bogardus, op. cit., p. 75.

interests of the sobranie (religious gatherings) are the highest ideals of the life of the older generation. Occupation is a subordinate element in the social pattern of this group. The process by which occupational activity is integrated with religious interests may be viewed from the standpoint of the adjustment of a rural sectarian group to modern industrial life.

Occupation is not our chief interest in life. We do our duty by being faithful to our work, but our foremost duty is to serve God. I serve Him and thank Him for keeping me fit to work. Conditions of work have changed and we must work as conditions permit.

The status of the Molokane in their new occupations is not impaired. "All work is honorable. Manual work is more so, because Christ was a laborer."

They recognize that in the city a high degree of skill is required but "worldly wisdom impairs spiritual salvation." Religion soothes many fears, and where the problems of earning a livelihood are involved it serves as one of the strongest forces in social adjustment. "I am satisfied with my job. I know I can't get another one very soon. After all it matters little what we do as long as we do our best."

A change in occupation is frequently accompanied by a change in position, "an expansion of the former self." The new interacting forces modify notions not only with regard to occupation but with regard to the entire definition of life as well. When the change is too sudden disorganization (with respect to established custom) may result. The older Molokan group were able to change their occupation with a minimum of social and personal disorganization, and the social situation with respect to family, religious and communal life remained essentially the same. Some of their old occupational attitudes and values were transferred into their new environment with distinct ad-

vantage to both the worker and his employer: loyalty to manager, solidarity, steady work habits, gratitude for returns, patience with work, love of work, acceptance of drudgery without complaint.

These traits further help in the adjustment to a new industry. During the process of their industrialization, the group was thrown into a variety of new situations but they were able to hold their own because of the strength of their traditions and the use which the lumber industry made of their cultural traits.

The most fundamental attitude is noticed by the continued existence of closed classes, "brotherhoods." Man is called to a given occupational status by the will of God. Occupations are a means to an end, and are tolerated as such. Occupation among the older Molokane does not lead to higher aspirations. "Christ had no aspirations to get out of his class." In feeling, sentiment, and culture, the older members continue to identify themselves with the rest of the group. The highly developed communal structure assures persistence of the traditional attitudes towards their occupations. When social aspirations lead them to leave the colony, and break the ties established with members of the group, disorganization sets in, and the solidarity of the group is impaired. Then Molokanism tends to become an abstraction.

### SOCIAL INTEREST IN ESPERANTO

#### REUBEN ALGOT TANQUIST

University of Omaha

When a new movement is inaugurated it is entirely natural that people should ask such questions as: "Why did it start?" "Why are people interested in it?" "What is its purpose?" and "By what means is it propagated?" These are questions that the inquirer has a right to ask and to expect answered before sponsors of the movement

can legitimately demand his support.

In a recent study made by the writer of this article, at the University of Minnesota, these question with reference to Esperanto were answered by some seven hundred and fifty individuals who are interested in the movement. The views of these people were obtained by means of a questionnaire that was circulated among Esperantists in North America, Great Britain, Continental Europe, and Australia. The questionnaire included questions concerning the sex, age, education, and occupation of the informant, and the year in which he began to study Esperanto. Below will be found in summarized form the answers to these questions. These are given as a background for the discussion which follows.

# Informants Classified by Geographic Groups

American (United States and Canada) 188; British (Great Britain and Australia) 232; Continental European (20 countries, but chiefly Germany, Austria, and Hungary) 335.

### Proportion of Each Sex

### Males 66 per cent

Females 34 per cent

### Informants Classified by Age Groups

Below 20 years25	per	cent
20-29 years31	per	cent
30-39 years22		
40 and above22	per	cent

# Informants Classified by Periods of Years in which They began to Study Esperanto

Before 1910\_\_\_18 per cent 1910-1919\_\_\_17 per cent 1919-1927\_\_\_64 per cent

## Informants Classified by Kinds of School They last Attended

Grade School30	per	cent
Secondary School39	per	cent
University16	per	cent
Commercial School 4	per	cent
School for Teachers 4	per	cent
Unclassified 7	per	cent

# Informants Classified by their Occupations at the Time of their Learning Esperanto

Unskilled 3	per cent
Semi-skilled6	per cent
Skilled11	
Semi-professional24	per cent
Professional26	
Student 18	
Housewives and other	
domestic women10	per cent
Farmers 1	per cent
Unclassified 1	*

The questionnaire also contained the following questions:

What was the reason for your interest in Esperanto? Through what agency did you become interested? By what means did you learn Esperanto?

It is to the answering of these three questions that we shall

primarily turn our attention in this article.

The reasons for the informants' interest in Esperanto were expressed in terms of their interest in such factors as international relations, travel, language as such, correspondence, and others included in the table which follows. Under International Relations is included peace, internationalism, and brotherhood of man.

### Reasons for Informants' Interest in Esperanto

International relations29	per	cent
Language24	per	cent
Correspondence14	per	cent
Travel13	per	cent
Political or religious propaganda 8	per	cent
Novelty 4	per	cent
Collecting3	per	cent
Radio2	per	cent
Unclassified 3	per	cent

The answers to this question illustrates, in a sense, two divergent principles: the theory of individual differences, and the theory of the uniformity of human nature. Individual differences are brought out by the variety of values seen by this group of informants in a knowledge of an international language. Here a single institution ministers to a variety of wants in different individuals because of variations in specific interests. The uniformity of human nature, regardless of geographic boundaries, is illustrated

by a comparison of the three geographic groups. The order of importance of the reasons given by the informants was found to be essentially the same in the geographic

groups referred to.

The agencies through which the informants became interested in Esperanto can be divided into two groups: direct contact, and indirect contact. The direct contact stimuli refer to information derived from face to face contacts between persons such as friends, relatives, fellow workers, teachers, and Esperanto propaganda meetings. The indirect contact stimuli concern information obtained through derivative sources such as newspaper and magazine articles, Esperanto propaganda literature, posters, and radio talks. The following table gives the relative importance of each type of stimulus:

# Agencies through which Informants became Interested in Esperanto Classified by Contact Groups

Indirect Contact	
	les42 per ce

This table indicates that the direct contact method has been far more effective as an influence in the particular group under consideration than the method of indirect contact. Especially is this true with reference to the females. The study also revealed the fact that the persons who became interested in Esperanto before they were twenty years old had been influenced more by direct contacts than persons above twenty years of age. With the advance of age the informants showed an increase of influence from printed matter.

The last question deals with the method or means by which the informants learned Esperanto. It is only in re-

cent years that the schools have begun to include Esperanto in their curricula. Consequently the majority of Esperantists have been obliged to learn the language outside of school. Twelve per cent of the informants learned the language in some school.

### Informants Classified by their Means of Learning Esperanto

Self study32	рег	cent
Private class30		
Esperanto group24	per	cent
Secondary school6		
Night school 3	per	cent
Radio lectures 2	per	cent
Grade school 2	per	cent
University1	per	cent
University 2	per	cent

#### CONCLUSIONS

If interest in the Esperanto movement continues to grow it is very likely that the number of schools in which the language is taught will also increase. It is only natural that the school officials of our land and other lands should hesitate to introduce into their school curricula a relatively new subject until the value of the knowledge of such a subject should have been demonstrated, or the demand for it should have become widely felt. With the nations of the world becoming more and more interdependent, the need of some common means of communication between peoples is steadily growing. Various commercial organizations which deal with international trade are supporting the movement for the establishment of an international auxiliary language, for the widespread use of such a language would greatly simplify and facilitate international trade. Several associations for the advancement of science are endorsing such a movement. Some statesmen, too, see in the general acceptance of an auxiliary world language a powerful aid to the efficient carrying on of international congresses.

Esperanto, according to its advocates, fulfills the requirements of an international auxiliary language. It has received the endorsement of the groups mentioned above, as well as that of others. Its remarkable simplicity and the resultant ease of learning it are important counts in its favor. The fact that Esperanto is not based upon any single national language will prevent national jealousies

from entering as an obstacle to its spread.

If the Esperanto movement continues to grow, the features entering into its growth will not necessarily continue to be identical to those revealed in the present study. Thus if the time should come when this language were universally included in the regular program of the schools, the number of each sex of those studying the language would probably be more nearly equal than was true of the group on which this study was based. It is also likely that the age at which people would learn the language would be much younger than at present; since the greater portion of the informants had learned Esperanto out of school. The amount of education of future Esperantists would then tend to vary directly with the general level of education of the entire population.

The present study indicated that a wide range of occupations prevailed among the Esperantists. However, the professional and semi-professional groups claimed half of the total, whereas the student group contained only 18 per cent. With the general introduction of Esperanto into the schools, it is only natural that the student group should

finally lead all others in importance.

As was intimated previously with reference to agencies through which the informants became interested in Esperanto, the importance of the direct contact stimuli tended to vary inversely with the age of the individual. Since the increasing introduction of Esperanto into the schools would result in an earlier contact with the language from the individual's point of view, we may expect an increase

in the importance of the direct contact method.

The age of an individual at the time of his first coming into contact with Esperanto will be an influential determining factor regarding the reason for his interest. It is not to be expected that the average child of ten or fifteen years should manifest as vital an interest in world peace or correspondence as a man or woman of maturity. Other factors, too, are likely to enter in when students begin to take the language for credits. As the child grows up, however, he will probably find more weighty reasons for supporting the movement. In years to come the interest in radio will undoubtedly serve as an increasingly powerful stimulus to the spread of an international language.

As a means of learning Esperanto the radio bodes well of assuming a rôle of importance. In Minneapolis, Minn., weekly lessons in Esperanto were given over the radio last school year by a faculty member of the University of Minnesota. So much interest was manifested in these radio lectures that it has been decided to continue them for this year also. A writer in the *International Language* for September, 1926, tells us that nearly one hundred radio stations in twenty-eight lands are using Esperanto.

Whether the Esperanto movement will continue to forge ahead until it covers the world remains to be seen. That there exists a strong demand for an international language cannot be doubted. The next few decades will very probably decide whether or not Esperanto will meet this

demand.

# WOMAN'S CONTRIBUTION TO HUMAN CULTURE

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WITH THE emancipation of woman from a predominantly masculine society, there arose the question of her true rôle in the history of culture. Students endeavored first, to re-define the status of the sexes throughout the course of cultural evolution, and secondly, to isolate aspects of civilization directly attributable to the one sex or the other. It had commonly been suggested by earlier social anthropologists that the quality of any society could be determined by the status of woman in that society. This notion may have been a sort of fetishism to glorify the beginnings of her new freedom, for it was shown by dispassionate research students that such a belief had no basis in fact; almost complete subjugation of the female may occur in advanced cultures, whereas—in the most simple—she may enjoy considerable freedom.

Secondly, and more important perhaps, it was shown that woman generally has not one position in society, but many positions—not one all-inclusive rank, as is implied by the phrase, "the status of woman," but rather a number of ranks, varying with different functions and complexes of values. "It should be noted," writes a competent anthropologist, "that the treatment of woman is one thing, her legal status another, her opportunities for public activ-

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<sup>1</sup> Robert H. Lowie, Primitive Society, p. 186.

ity still another, while the character and extent of her la-

bors belong again to a distinct category."

Working from this new standpoint, further inquiries into the rôle of woman in cultural evolution tended to show that her actual condition had been greatly misrepresented by previous studies. She was not necessarily subjugated; her legal status was seldom a true indication of the influence she actually exerted; her opportunities for public activity, if curtailed in one direction, were expressed in another; and her labor was seldom that of a drudge. Further, if woman's part were significant in the course of cultural evolution, there may have been a time, it was thought, when her influence was all determining. And so, pressing back to the very origins of human society itself, the theory was advanced by some students that the earliest social forces (the root-soil of social institutions) were to be found not in the instincts, emotions, and sentiments of the male but in those of the female.

It is this sort of argument which forms the basis of a recently published work<sup>2</sup> in the field of social anthropology, a work which commends itself to us by virtue of its scholarship, its clear and poignant style, and its effective re-interpretations. There are three volumes of more than seven hundred pages each, replete with valuable references in many tongues; indeed it requires almost two hundred closely printed pages of Volume III for their summarization. One ponders such a work; but it goes almost beyond belief when, from the author himself, we learn that one volume was largely written in the trenches, a second altogether in a ship's cabin, and the entire undertaking concluded under the handicap of physical pain.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Robert Briffault, *The Mothers*. ("A Study of the Origins of Sentiments and Institutions"), vol. 3. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1927.

The author's thesis is stated in the Preface, "that the social characters of the human mind are, one and all, traceable to the operation of instincts that are related to the functions of the female and not to those of the male." This Dr. Briffault undertakes to demonstrate, first by noting that parthenogenesis is primal; and that therefore the male is but an accessory. Further, without exception, the animal family is matriarchal, the male's position being insignificant. Now, Dr. Briffault contends, if the human social group must be supposed to have arisen out of the animal family, its characteristics must likewise have been determined by the instincts of the mothers.

This thesis seems but a revival of McLennan's theory of matriarchy, that social origins may be traced to a state of society in which female sentiments were dominant, plus the assumption—and it is a mere assumption—that the primal human group evolved out of the animal family. The author takes special pains to observe that such evolution must have taken place from the animal family, not herd, since the latter is incompatible with the development of social instincts.

Further, he continues, it is inconceivable that, in the first stages, human beings associated in families; such association would prove too limited for the development of the social sentiments peculiar to man. Unfortunately we draw our conclusion of early family life from remnants of prevailing primitive culture as, for instance, the Fuegians, but it should be remembered that they have been subject to constant pressure from more powerful neighbors, which has tended to break them up into smaller units.

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Briffault, on the contrary, asserts "all that is involved in human evolution postulates a much larger group than the family. . . . The beginning of humanity, like the beginning of life itself, postulates exceptionally propitious conditions" (pp. 198 ff). This larger grouping was made possible, as is generally known, by the rule of exogamy. But, says Briffault, none of the hypotheses thus far put forward, such as horror of incest, jealousy, etc., to explain this rule of exogamy prove to be substantial. They are all adduced from a patriarchal standpoint, whereas it needs only to be observed that exogamy is the essential condition to the preservation of a matriarchy (p. 250).

A great deal of the foregoing is, of course, already familiar matter; and the same is true of many another of his lengthy expositions, such as that on marriage forms, and the status of woman in primitive societies. But even here there is reorganization; and now and then an interpreta-

tion which is a challenge to thought.

Thus he refutes, in Volume II, Westermarck's hypothesis of chastity before marriage among primitive peoples, suggesting that, when found, such chastity is generally confined to members of the ruling class. Westermarck he declares to be at once "inaccurate and misleading": the former proposes too few relevant instances in support of his thesis; he presumes as a general usage what is, in fact, limited to a class; he cites as examples of primitive conduct practices influenced by contact with Christianity; and he adduces from the rarity of pre-nuptial children the existence of chastity when, with a large number of primitives, though intercourse be allowed, pregnancy must be avoided. Indeed, Briffault appears to adopt the position that marriage, far from providing expression for the sexual impulses in primitive society, generally marks the beginning of its restraint.

The author further attacks Westermarck's definition of marriage as "a more or less durable connection between male and female lasting beyond the mere act of propagation till after the birth of the offspring,"—for this question of "more or less" proves to be the matter of which we wish to know more definitely, in order to differentiate marriage from mere sexual relationship. Marriage, Dr. Briffault holds, consists rather of a juridic and social relationship induced by the union, regardless of its durability. In a word, marriage is what people regard as marriage, nothing fixed or eternal, altogether a legal matter, regardless of its content, quality, or outcome, as with us today.

These considerations are in the nature of digressions, and are mentioned here only to indicate the challenging quality of his thought. His main theme, is, as we have already seen, the primary rôle of the mothers in the upbuild-

ing of social sentiments.

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How then, the question arises, are we to account for the fathers who now reveal these same sentiments? How do they come into possession of them? The answer is to be found in the relationship of the sexes. Although there is a reported absence of sexual affection among savages, and consequent lack of the sentiments we associate with marriage, the love of mothers for their offspring is unquestionable. That is to say, the maternal instinct is by far more fundamental and strong than the mating instinct, the love between the sexes. Instances abound which suggest anything but tender feelings between husband and wife; whereas the same accounts reveal tender emotion of the mother for her offspring. It is thus from the mother that the sentiments are derived; and from her expression of them through the child that they are transferred to the father.

In this connection it seems that Dr. Briffault suffers from the particularistic fallacy of attributing a social condition to a *single* social cause; whereas, in reality, causation is always a complex. Even granting the primary truth of his thesis, that "the traditional inheritance of the

human mind . . . has been moulded in the first instance not by the fierce passions of wild hunters battling for the possession of food and of women, but by the instincts of the mothers," his failure to give any weight to masculine influence makes the argument more logical than valid. It is an instance of linear thinking, and like all such thinking, suffers more from omission and exclusion than from error.

In Volume III there are chapters on "Modesty" and "Purity" which indicate the nature and place of sexual morality in social evolution. The primary object of modesty, the purposes of clothing, the comparative recency of the idea of virginity and its nature when found among literate peoples—these are some of the more signal topics of which the author adequately treats.

It has not been the purpose of this paper to present the work in its fullness, for its magnitude does not allow of such treatment. The intention was rather to sketch a part, in order to reveal the tenor of the whole; to indicate that lucid penetration of mind which makes The Mothers an effective clearing house of anthropological speculation.

### SOCIAL CUSTOMS OF MALAYS

#### J. RUTH CRANDALL

Formerly of Penang, Straits Settlements

"Tidapah" (never mind), is the key word to Malay psychology. It is heard on every hand. The white man never reprimands a lazy servant without being met with "Tidapah, Tuan" until any idea of reformation is abandoned. If the Mexican lives in the "tomorrow," the Malay lives in "lusa," day after tomorrow. If in a moment of weakness one has loaned a Malay money and payment is suggested he cheerfully responds, "Lusa, Tuan," but when "lusa" comes he is still thinking in terms of "lusa."

He has little or no intellectual curiosity. A ghost or "hantu" explains every phenomenon. If he happens to be a chauffeur, as he often is, and the engine causes trouble, he gets out, knocks about with a wrench to frighten the "hantu." If one were to inquire when the journey can be resumed he would be informed in all seriousness that it will probably be some time, for this particular kind of a "hantu" is very wicked indeed. If any merchandise disappears and inquiry is made as to its whereabouts, the Malay rolls his eyes in awe and responds, "Saya ta'tau. Saya fikir hantu," (I don't know but I think a hantu has taken it) and investigation may as well end.

His mind is filled with superstition and his world peopled with supernatural beings. His belief in were-animals, especially were-tigers, is absolute and unshakable. If you try to explain that it is not possible for a human being to change into a tiger he marvels at your ignorance and masses such a host of evidence that you almost become

convinced of its possibility.

He is extremely indecisive, always refusing to give a definite answer. In fact, "yes" and "no" are not in his language. "Blum" (not yet), is used instead of "no." A white man's activity is incomprehensible to him. Why any man should work as long as he has rice for today, he cannot understand, for one might die before tomorrow and all that extra effort would be wasted. It is not wise to put a Malay under heavy mental or physical strain, for if so, he apt to run "amok." In such a case he becomes insane, and taking his ever ready "kris," starts out to kill all he sees until he himself meets death. Stories, in order to interest him, must be simple indeed. Nothing in the Bible thrills him like the geneological chapters. To those he will listen with rapt attention.

The men wear "sarongs" made of plaid cotton cloth or of silk, sewed into a tube and wrapped about the waist in such an ingenious manner that they never loosen; and a shirt-like garment put on over the head, the bottom hanging loose; toe slippers embroidered in gold and silver thread; and the inevitable velvet turban of red, green, or purple. Outside of the larger cities the turban is made of a folded batik handkerchief. When he comes into the house he leaves his shoes outside, but never removes his turban. The women dress in gay batik sarongs, long jackets of silk, and a second sarong over the head in such a manner as to leave only the eyes visible when on the street. One Malay man told me that at present women are growing bold, for a few allow their noses to show, but few are so bold. The children run about in nature's garb, except for the string or chain about the waist to keep away evil spirits, until they are six or seven. Then they become miniatures of their parents.

Their diet consists of rice cooked in cocoanut milk. Over it is poured a delicious curry gravy in which vegetables or meat has been boiled, and topped off with ground chili, salt fish, and peanuts. To my mind no more delicious dish exists than genuine Malay curry. No Malay would be so unsanitary as to use a knife and fork while eating, for they have been used by many before him. He uses his own fingers for he knows that no one else has eaten with them.

His houses are on six-foot stilts with ladders leading to the doors. The floors are of bamboo placed conveniently far apart to allow garbage to be dropped through, keeping the floor clean. It is well that flies are unknown in Malay. The walls are woven with leaves from a palm and the roofs thatched with dried leaves of the "atap" palm. There is no wind in Malay or such houses would be impossible. The houses have no furniture. Mats are used on the floor for beds at night and rolled up during the day.

The Malay language is simple and picturesque. The grammar is reduced to a minimum. Plurals are formed by repeating the word. "Mata-mata" (all eyes) means a policeman; a detective is "mata glop" (dark eye); the sun is "mata hari" (the eye of the day). Taking a walk for exercise or going on a holiday is "makan hangin" (eating wind). Our word for orang-outang comes from their "orang-hutang" (forest man). Fireworks are "bunga api" or fire flowers. For rice they have three distinct words: "padi," rice in the field; "bros," rice unthreshed; "nari," rice on the table. "Panas" (hot with fire), "padas" (hot with spice), indicates a diet characteristic.

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Watching a "ronging" or Malay dance is the most highly appreciated amusement. A Malay who wishes to celebrate will hire two dancing girls (always prostitutes) with drummers for an evening. The girls sing in falsetto and dance to the rhythmic pounding of the drums, a slow, sedate

handkerchief dance or cake walk. Many times the song when analyzed, will be found to be similar to American jazz. Early in the evening the performance is innocent and rather boring, but as the night progresses, the men dance with the girls and it becomes more and more sug-

gestive until it ends in a sexual orgy.

The Malay loves drama and is especially fond of Shake-speare. The theatrical companies translate the plays, none too literally, and play them to delighted audiences. It is extremely amusing to have a Malay in a turban and sarong appear on the stage and majestically announce, "Saya ada Hamlet" (I am Hamlet). In the spring of the year the young men organize companies and practice original "skits." On a night announced all the clubs (Chinese and Europeans) will erect outdoor platforms and invite the groups to come and perform. A small sum is paid each group after its performance and it moves on to the next stage, making room for the oncoming group. An entertaining evening is enjoyed by all.

Outwardly the Malay conforms to Mohammedanism but at heart he is still animistic. No tree spirit is neglected in the daily sacrifices. Charms play a large part in his thoughts and actions. Those who have made the pilgrimage to Mecca form the aristocracy of Malay society. About the teachings of the Koran the Malay knows very little. Every child attends the mosque school for several years. Sitting cross-legged on the cement verandah in a circle around the teacher he drones, hour after hour, the Koran in Arabic until he has memorized it. But Arabic is a jumble of meaningless sounds to him. Perhaps in later years he may learn English and read an English translation but these are few. The month of fasting is carefully observed. The whistle blows at sunrise and sunset. During the interval not even the saliva is swallowed.

As soon as the sun drops everyone makes up for lost time and feasting continues far into the night.

Toward Christianity the Malay is arrogant. He is glad that missionaries have come to Christianize the "heathen" Chinese but as to him, his religion is far superior to any other.

Although Mohammed allows his followers four wives apiece, a Malay seldom takes advantage of this privilege for he has no desire to work hard enough to support more than one. Harems are maintained among the royalty. Divorce is easy and common.

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The wedding celebration resembles Old Testament practices. The bride has no part in the true ceremony which takes place in the mosque. The celebration comes the following night. The women guests assemble at the home of the bride. A throne large enough for two has been erected at one end of the long room. The bride dressed in her wedding finery is hidden away in the back. All guests sit on the floor, chew betal nut, while one tedious hour follows another, pending the arrival of the groom. He may come any time before dawn. After the hours have dragged by and many false alarms have been sounded, he comes, torches ablaze, carried on the shoulders of his friends. The friends have to force their way into the house after a feeble show of opposition on the part of the bride's family. In the meantime the bride has been half carried out, eyes closed, and seated on the dais. The groom with his eyes closed is led to the dais and seated beside her. There they sit, both with their eyes closed, faces straight ahead, while two small girls dance in front of them, singing of their comeliness, and all the relatives stand about remarking about their appearance. After what must seem to be an age to the couple, they are led, eyes still closed, into the bridal bedroom, where they sit side by side on a bench with their little fingers interlocked. After several minutes the bride is led from the room, the guests depart and the groom returns to his home. They meet each other for the first time when he calls the next day. After they have had a few weeks in which to become acquainted they move to their new home and set up housekeeping.

Few Malay girls receive any education. Mas Rahal is the only one who has ever gone through high school. Her great amount of knowledge resulted in her being watched closely and being continually criticized. Worst of all, she did not choose to marry until she had attained the "terrible" age of twenty-three. The Malays therefore concluded that education makes a girl "unsaleable." None

since have ventured beyond the eighth grade.

Few Malay boys have ambition enough to complete high school. Those who do are given positions as teachers. Those who pass the eighth grade become government clerks. Others may be found in positions of traffic police where they are very decorative in their picturesque capes, of chauffeurs and gardeners. They seldom become house servants. The majority choose the independence of the small villages surrounded with small rice fields, and the huts located under productive cocoanut palms.

#### WORLD LEADERSHIP TYPES\*

#### **EMORY S. BOGARDUS**

University of Southern California

LEADERSHIP is the special influence of one person over other persons. But at once you may ask, why special influence? Why not simply influence? The answer might be affirmative were it not for the fact that influence or mutual influencing is so common. What is everywhere common ceases to arouse attention and hence loses its significance. A term which applies to everything under the sun applies to nothing, so far as exciting human attention is concerned. Hence, leadership cannot be applied to every stimulus by which one person influences another.

Leadership, thus, is reserved for special types of stimuli, or special integrations of stimuli—by which one person is instrumental in changing the attitudes of other persons. Leadership is the setting up by one person of unusual or original behavior patterns which are responded to, accepted, adapted by other persons. Leadership is the creating and setting forth of exceptional behavior patterns in such a way that numbers of persons respond to them and construct similar patterns of behavior for themselves.

Leadership usually finds expression between persons of somewhat similar culture traits. The Pope is not accepted as a leader by Protestants, and Robert G. Ingersoll, by neither Catholics nor Protestants. Al Smith is not an enthusiastically cheered leader of the W.C.T.U., and Kirby Page is not worshipped by the R.O.T.C.

The substance of an address given at the Initiation Dinner of Alpha Kappa Delta, University of Southern California, March, 1928.

A person who succeeds in rising ever so little above the mountains of age-long culture of which he is a part, or in adding to, or in reorganizing culture traits in new and more adequate ways is entitled to be recognized as a leader by the culture groups immediately concerned. The exponents of accepted culture traits may become defense leaders but as a rule they are ultimately not rated as high as the protagonists of newer and more adequate culture traits. The latter rôle generally requires more courage. Lincoln the Emancipator is rated above Lincoln the Unionist. Roosevelt the champion of social justice in 1904 will be remembered when Roosevelt the exponent of war in 1917 is forgotten.

Leadership functions in social situations ranging all the way from those obtaining in small primary groups to those complicated situations found in national and world publics. Where two or three are gathered together, there leadership is found; neither is it missing in the world viewed as a single community. In its world aspects, leadership involves not only many diverse cultures, but the accommodation and assimilation of these into some kind of a unity. It implies the creation of a world culture, but this would not necessarily be a culture of similar culture traits. As the culture of a local community is a unity of dissimilar traits, so a world culture that would be intra-stimulative must be made up of dissimilarities.

Likewise, world leadership denotes a leadership of spatially distinct population areas, each with its own physical resources and social traditions and customs. When it is considered that some of these areas are on opposite sides of the earth, that some are in widely different climes, and that some are at the opposite poles of physical and social resources, the complexity of the problem becomes baffling.

Current developments in international and interracial communication are offsetting a declining immigration situation and overcoming ecological factors, such as spatial distance, locality, and so forth. While a social leader needs to be in personal contact with his followers, in order that he may continue to understand their experiences and that his personal magnetism may have full reign, yet the mental and executive types of leadership are under no such ecological restrictions.

At any rate, world leaders are not totally unknown. We already have them. The most common and age-long form of world leadership is that which makes indirect contributions of special significance to world culture. Lindbergh is the outstanding popular world leader today of this type. Avowing that his one interest is in commercial aviation, he is giving the pattern of international aviation such a pleasing, disinterested setting that increasing numbers of people in many parts of the world are beginning to focus their attention on the same activity. Moreover, his own modesty, his surprising skill, his simple, constructive habits, his refusal to make a vaudeville fool of himself, or to sell himself for gold—all strictly individualistic traits—have made him a social hero, a world figure, an ambassador of the air, or better still, an ambassador of good will to the world.

In his invention of a thousand and one universally useful devices, Thomas A. Edison has become a world leader of the indirect contribution type. In the manufacture of multimillion tin Lizzies for the common people everywhere, Henry Ford has also unintentionally illustrated the indirect contribution type of world leader. Such persons are marked individualists as a rule. Their attention centers largely on their own activities. They do not mean to be world leaders, but by their valuable contributions to

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all cultures, and by the rapid diffusion of these contributions that is now possible despite ecological and other hindrances, they automatically or naturally become world leaders.

A second type of world leadership is characterized by direct, official, nation-centric activities. Briand, Streseman, Chamberlain, and Kellogg are working through their own national offices to promote international agreements. In each case the nation's sovereignty is jealously guarded. Whatever world improvements come must not deprive the respective nations of their traditional rights. The point of view remains largely national, and the leaders are responsible to national cultures. They do not dare to take an unrestrained world point of view, for there is no unified world culture complex to support them. They are leaders accustomed to strong cultural backing, and hence are not willing to sally forth without substantial support from culture complexes. They do not create new culture traits but organize those that have been created independently by many minds, into new and substantial entities.

A third but exceedingly rare type of world leadership possesses direct, official, world-centric characteristics. Only one outstanding example may be cited, namely, Woodrow Wilson, and even his claim to such distinction may be easily challenged. He spoke directly as the official head of a powerful nation to all races in terms of world values. His ideas were phrased with such literary skill that people irrespective of race caught the sense of world feeling which they breathed, and responded to them with all the fervor that the human heart can muster. He rose above the storm clouds of conflicting nationalism, and proclaimed the coming of a world culture. He was beldly willing to risk a tangible portion of national sovereignty in behalf of a sane world control. Setting up the rudiments of a

World League, but sacrificing here and there to other national leaders who would not and could not go as far as he, he came home to find that antagonistic politicians both without and within his own party, jealous of his prestige, and fearing for the cause of national patriotism, had undermined his position. There was no adequate supporting public opinion or culture complexes. Although he did not have the skill or the time to build up these in his last few broken months, his claim to having promulgated an important world culture pattern grows stronger with the ad-

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A fourth type of world leadership is direct unofficial, world-centric. It is represented by men who speak fearlessly in behalf of world values, even when these challenge national values. It is represented by men who travel from one nation to another, and who keep in touch with the pulse of many lands. Holding no governmental positions, they enjoy greater freedom of speaking than do officials. John R. Mott has long been recognized by many people as such a type of world leader. Hundreds of thousands not only in his own country but in Japan, China, India, as well as in Europe, look to him for encouragement. In their trips about the world, men like Sherwood Eddy, Kirby Page, and youthful Stanley High fearlessly attack militarism, the champion pet of hyper-nationalism, and without losing their superior poise receive from this generation the epithets of pacifict and traitor. David Starr Jordan in his world peace plans and standards is another expression of this type of world leadership. Mahatma Gandhi and Stanley Jones are each in his way, on his side of the globe, exemplifying the same type of world leadership. To a greater or less degree, all these persons seem to have received a religious motivation for their direct, unofficial, world-centric leadership.

Over against these four constructive types of world leadership there are destructive forms of a highly egocentric nature. The present dictator of Italy sets a strongarm pattern that appeals tremendously to imperialists everywhere. He gives them great satisfaction because he is forcefully championing the culture-traits for which they stand. They think that they see in him a needed type of world leader in these dilly-dallying, befuddled times. And he, receiving the plaudits of multitudes and seeing himself a headliner in the newspapers of many nations, gives way to egoistic inflation and pictures himself first as the supreme ruler of Italy, then of the Mediterranean basin, and finally as one of a few world potentates of history. He dreams of a world empire that Caesar scarcely imagined.

But such a pattern of world leadership today begins to fall of its own weight as soon as it is set up. Even imperialistic Americans revolt at the thought of trading off our national Congress, Supreme Court, the President and his Cabinet, for one Dictator. The dictator reaches national prominence, but strives pitifully for world dominance. Recall the rise of Wilhelm II to national power, but witness his downfall when he clutched at the scepter of world

mastery.

Constructive world leadership is not a phantasy. From at least the four different constructive directions noted in this paper, world leaders are overcoming the rugged inclines of local and national prejudice, intolerance, and myopia. Inventions ranging from the simplest devices that meet universal need to advancements in international communication and diffusion are overcoming ecological differences and laying the sure foundations for a world culture. In some degree of unison broad-gauge national officials are conservatively moving up the heights of world organization. Within a decade an intellectually scintillat-

ing champion of a World League has captured at least the imagination of multitudes. Free-lance thinkers are hammering down national barriers and raising high the insignia of a united human race. While world leadership has not yet acquired momentum, it has arrived, it is real. It is worth studying scientifically and sociologically, for it is already engaged in shaping a new chapter in social evolution.

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## **Book Notes**

THE ELEMENTS OF CRIME: Psycho-Social Interpretation. By Boris Brasol. Oxford University Press, New York, 1927, pp. xvii+433.

CRIME AND ITS PREVENTION. By GROVE SAMUEL DOW.

Edwards Brothers, Ann Arbor, 1927, pp. 327.

THE EVOLUTION OF PENOLOGY IN PENNSYLVANIA. A Study in American Social History. By Harry Elmer Barnes. The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Indianapolis, 1927, pp. 414.

PROBATION FOR JUVENILES AND ADULTS: A Study in Principles and Methods. By Fred R. Johnson. The Century Company, New York, 1928, pp. xiii+242.

THE CRIMINAL AND HIS ALLIES. By Marcus Kavanaugh. Bobbs-Merrill Company, Indianapolis, 1928, pp. xxvi+433.

The rapidly developing interest throughout the nation is reflected in the number and variety of books now appearing on different phases of the "crime problem."

The Elements of Crime by Boris Brasol represents the point of view of the experienced, well-read, energetic public official who seeks explanations of the problems he deals with by recourse to the social sciences. The author was formerly prosecuting attorney of the St. Petersburg Supreme Court and has also written extensively on the subject of criminal investigation. He uses both American and European data and literature in this field and has indicated the complexity of factors involved in criminality. While the legalistic point of view is minimized in the treatment and there is considerable reliance upon psychiatry and psychology for analytic purposes there is little consideration of the rôle of social experience in the development of criminal personalities. The moral problem is a constantly recurring theme in the discussion and many assessments of responsibility are made by the author. On the whole it represents a well-rounded attack upon a baffling problem.

Professor Dow's volume on Crime and Its Prevention is the familiar type of textbook approach intended to induct the college students into the intricacies of the problem of the social control of crime. It is a straightforward, factual presentation of conditions, causes, types, and treatment methods with emphasis upon practical problems. The author says it is not his purpose "to advocate any new or startling

theory in regard to crime." There is relatively slight use made of sociological theories of personality to describe and account for the criminal.

The Evolution of Penology in Pennsylvania is an historical study of social policies and practices in a typical American state. It is the outcome of Professor Barnes' connection in 1918 with the Pennsylvania Commission to Investigate Penal Systems. The author has utilized a wealth of source material which he has treated in critical, scholarly fashion. In many respects it parallels similar work by the Webbs on English penology.

The author of Probation for Juveniles and Adults is chief probation officer of the Recorder's Court of Detroit. The volume is intended to represent the social worker's point of view and is one of the series in "The Social Workers' Library" edited by Professor John L. Gillin. The first half of the book is devoted to a presentation and discussion of present-day probation policies and practices. The second half consists of ten case records of probationers. These "cases" are of interest to sociologists since they indicate the variety of problems presented to social work organizations. Unfortunately they are too brief to permit satisfactory social analysis.

Judge Kavanagh speaks from thirty years' experience on the bench in Chicago. He frankly declares his sympathies are with the victims of criminals and pleads for an energetic application of legal and administrative measures to bring them under control. The ineffectuality of present machinery he believes lies in uninformed public opinion, in conservatism of bench and bar, and in the divided responsibility for dealing with the problem. There is little indication that the judge appreciates the nature of social forces which are producing criminals.

E. F. Y.

#### THE PROCESS OF GROUP THINKING. By HARRISON S. EL-LIOTT. Association Press, New York, 1928, pp. x+229.

This approach to group thinking is psychological and educational; it is grounded in several years of wide experience on the part of the author. Significant topics that are discussed include: The chairmanship of group thinking, preliminary plans for conducting a discussion, what to do with emotional prejudice and bias, the place of information and the expert in group thinking, and conditions for creative discussion. Professor Elliott's book is full of practical suggestions to conference and convention leaders.

E. S. B.

COMMUNITY PROBLEMS. By ARTHUR Wood. The Century Company, New York, 1928.

"The material of this volume indicates a variety of ways by which communities of different types are planning and organizing to further the efficiency and socialization of their inhabitants." Apart from an introductory discussion on "the community and its problems," the following problems are dealt with: Housing, health, play and recreation, and Americanization. While it is impossible to treat fully all of the problems in one volume the author shows great skill in synthesizing the essential materials dealing with the respective problems. Reports of various investigations are summarized. The various community movements and the work done by agencies interested in the improvement of community conditions are sketched.

The book is primarily designed as a text. Questions and projects for class reports and discussion, as well as carefully selected bibliographies, are given at the conclusion of each chapter. The material in each chapter is presented with a view of acquainting the student with the essential conditions and to contribute to the general enlightenment concerning ways by which community life may be improved. Community workers will find it not only informing but highly

stimulating.

Professor Wood points out that the attainment of more livable communities is beset with many difficulties. Programs of community betterment run counter to scrambling individualism, ignorance, traditional habits of thought, commercialism, and other counteracting tendencies. The function of community organization is to direct and readjust the social forces of the community so as to allay and overcome the antagonisms which arise out of prevailing situations to the end that a more disciplined and co-operative form of community life may be attained.

M. H. N.

RURAL SOCIOLOGY. By John M. Gillette. Revised Edition. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1928, pp. xiii+574.

It is interesting to note the changes and development in the study of the rural community since Professor Gillette's first work in this field was published in 1913, or even since the first edition of the present volume appeared in 1922. The shift from a socio-economic study to psycho-sociological research is noticeable. The movement from a factual-conditions study toward an interpretation-processional analysis is also evident. The successive volumes by Dr. Gillette, an outstanding pioneer in the field, reflect these.

E. S. B.

CULTURE AND SOCIAL PROGRESS. By JOSEPH KIRK FOLSOM.
Longmans, Green and Company, New York, 1928, pp. ix+
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The author's purpose to give a bird's eye view of the human sciences as a whole, unifying the findings of economics, sociology, anthropology, political science, and the like in such a way that their implications may be better understood in the light of human welfare, is a tremendous task, but one which he has handled in a most creditable manner; a manner which shows his thorough grasp of the subjects involved. The language is simple, the style interesting, and the author has managed to bring together within a small compass all that is contained in the best literature in the various fields represented. The only weakness in the book might be that its scope is so immense that a beginning student would be hopelessly bewildered by the mass of material. On the other hand, a text of this kind would furnish students with a valuable preview of the social sciences and stimulate their desire to follow them further.

As implied in the title, culture and its relation to human progress is the keynote of the book. It begins with a brief analysis of man's place in the animal world and traces his progress from the lower paleolithic age to the present time. Culture as such is treated in great detail, with careful attention given its nature, how it is produced, and the causes of cultural change. Culture is evaluated in terms of what it does to promote human welfare and happiness. The author shows how culture often impedes happiness, to the point where men, under the leadership of philosophers such as Socrates and Rousseau, have from time to time tried to revolt against it. The future is regarded as hopeful because leaders are for the first time in history thinking in terms of culture. Men may learn to guide the course of cultural evolution just as they have learned to guide biological evolution, so that through it the maximum of happiness and hence progress may be achieved. D. M. C.

THE WAYS OF BEHAVIORISM. By John B. Watson. Harper and Brothers, New York, 1928, pp. 144.

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In this latest and non-academic statement of behaviorism by Watson, the last chapter is especially interesting. It is entitled "Can the Adult Change His Personality?" One's personality is defined as the totality or sum of his habit systems or conditionings. It may be discovered by "actual observation of his behavior over a long enough

period of time to get reliable information." It begins with "squirmings" and involves a large proportion of emotional behavior which "is learned like any other behavior." It is "an ever-widening stream of behavior," including a manual as well as an emotional equipment. An adult can change his personality "if he works hard enough" or as long as he can learn. "Personality is man-made,"—and can be changed by man.

Behaviorism makes valuable suggestions to sociology, but it is not the only source of psychological contributions. It may be viewed as one of several important sources. Its findings are to be treated with E. S. B.

respect, but not to be accepted uncritically.

ELEMENTS OF RURAL SOCIOLOGY. By Newell L. Sims. Thomas Y. Crowell Company, New York, 1928, pp. xxviii+ 698.

Books on the sociology of rural life appear with great frequency. Rural sociologists are among the most prolific writers in the field of sociology. The older textbooks on rural sociology treat a series of social problems without a specific unitary point of view. Professor H. B. Hawthorne was one of the first to treat the subject from a unitary standpoint. He looks at rural grouping with respect to socialization. Professor Sims endeavors to contribute a viewpoint and an emphasis. "The viewpoint of the work is twofold: involving, first, a definite and original concept of society and sociology, and, second, an approach to country life in part from the angle of the urbanite. . . . Society is thought of in terms of energy manifest organ cally, materially, and culturally in a unity which we call the human group." He endeavors to interpret rural society to a growing class of rural sociology students who are of town and city origin.

After a general introduction, he studies the vital element, the people and their physical and mental characteristics and habits. The next part is devoted to the cultural element, treating primarily the rural social institutions and traditions. This is followed by a treatment of the material element, and finally the structural element. Each chapter contains numerous graphs and is followed by a selected

bibliography.

While this book is one of a number of textbooks in this field, it impresses the reader as one of the most comprehensive and objective surveys yet made of this branch of sociology. It is further characterized by its unitary character. M. H. N.

- ORIENTAL EXCLUSION. By R. D. McKenzie. American Group, Institute of Pacific Relations, New York, 1928, pp. 200.
- RESIDENT ORIENTALS ON THE AMERICAN PACIFIC COAST. By ELIOT G. MEARS. American Group, Institute of Pacific Relations, New York, 1928, pp. xvi+526.
- PROBLEMS OF THE PACIFIC. By J. D. Condliffe. University of Chicago Press, 1928, pp. xiii+630.

It is to be hoped that the first two of the volumes listed above will soon be followed by others of similar character. The Pacific Race Relations Survey, which aroused widespread interest in Oriental problems on the Coast, was fortunate in having the part-time services of both Drs. McKenzie and Mears. Both have prepared scholarly and valuable reports. After reviewing the exclusion question carefully Dr. McKenzie summarizes his study by quoting President Coolidge to the effect that the Exclusion Law was an unfortunate procedure. It would have been better to have secured protection through obtaining co-operative action from Japan. Dr. Mears has specialized on the legal and economic aspects of the Oriental problem on the Coast, and has produced a large amount of data, well supported by documentary evidence. The third volume listed above is a well edited and published report of the proceedings of the Second Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations, Honolulu, 1927. It contains more solid material for thought than is ordinarily found in conference reports. It gives in the main a composite picture of the resources of the Pacific Basin and of a wide range of resultant political, social, and economic problems. E. S. B.

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# INDUSTRY'S COMING OF AGE. By Rexford Guy Tugwell. Harcourt, Brace & Company, New York, 1927, pp. ix+274.

Professor Tugwell in his latest book emphasizes the economic phase of productivity and declares that the present is an opportune time to make a thorough-going analysis of our rapidly increasing scale of production in order to better understand present-day industrial and social problems. In the past there has been in economic theorizing what may be called a classical adherence to value and distribution. Now that industry is passing out of its adolescence and into its maturity, it may be well to critically examine the significance of advancing productivity. The author devotes the major portion of his discussion to the analysis of the general and specific or

technical causes of increased production, subjecting each to a fine scrutiny for the purpose of discovering those causes which may best serve as a basis for reconstructing industry so that it may best serve man. "We want to see industry which will not only move steadily toward better and cheaper goods, but which will make machines do the work these men and women are now doing" is the statement which concludes Professor Tugwell's description of "what we want from industry."

M. J. V.

PRINCIPLES OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY. By WALTER R. SMITH. Houghton Mifflin Company, New York, 1928, pp. xviii+773.

Professor Smith has undertaken to expand and elaborate his earlier work in the field of educational sociology, An Introduction to Educational Sociology, and offers this new and improved volume in consequence. The author undertakes to orient the field and to definitely organize the principles of educational sociology. He holds that educational sociology may be defined as "the application of the methods, principles, and data of sociology to the study and practice of education." There is, however, hardly any emphasis in the main body of the discussion of the newer methods of sociology which might be applied to educational theory and practice, and which would certainly seem to possess some value in the determination of the objectives of education, as well as to help out the curriculum makers. The survey method seems to be the only one touched upon, and this has its decided limitations. There is a wealth of material offered, but there is little that is new. The chief merit must be found in the arrangement of the material. There would seem to be necessary a decided sharpening of the means whereby sociological principles are to be applied to the science of education. While the work can hardly be called a new presentation of educational sociology, it offers valuable suggestions to those who are engaged in the task of discovering an educational sociology. M. J. V.

- THE CHILD AND SOCIETY. By PHYLLIS BLANCHARD. Longmans, Green & Company, pp. 369. The child and the socializing process is the chief part of this book, which is behavioristic, literary, and sane. The child is considered from the standpoint chiefly of his emotional reactions to the family, school, play, religion, motion pictures. The development of undesirable behavior patterns is an especially important chapter. Throughout, the author's excellent training, originality, and extensive experience in child guidance work are evident.
- THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF AN EX-COLORED MAN. By James Weldow Johnson. Alfred A. Knopf, 1927, pp. xii+211. This is an outstanding document for revealing the racial traits of the Negro together with his feelings toward the white man. It is called "a composite autobiography of the Negro race." Moreover, it is an important account of "passing," whereby light-complexioned Negroes play the rôle of white persons in the white people's world—for the sake of higher status.
- THE PSYCHOLOGY OF ABNORMAL PEOPLE. By John J. B. Morgan. Longmans, Green & Company, 1928, pp. ix—627. This is a book of outstanding merit in the field of abnormal psychology, because of its combination of technical accuracy and its practical, educational viewpoint. Learning is made the basis of the development of both abnormal and normal behavior. Relearning is the salvation of the abnormal person.
- THE SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY OF WILLIAM MORRIS. By Anna A. von high Holtz-Phelan. Duke University Press, Durham, N. C., 1927, pp. 207. Fart III, dealing with the social ideals of William Morris is the most significant phase. Joy in one's work is Morris' main tenet. Morris' indictment of the present social order and his conception of a true society with art omnipresent are ably presented.
- MONGOLISM. By KATE BROUSSEAU and H. G. BRAINARD. The Williams & Wilkins Company, Baltimore, 1928, pp. viii+210. This is a scientific and important work on the history, distribution, sex characters, etiology, pathology, diagnosis, and the care and training of mongolian idiots.
- THE RATE OF LIVING. By RAYMOND PEARL. Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1928, pp. 185. A statistical and scholarly study in the biology of life duration and of the growth and decline of an annual group (a fruit-fly) "as a result of the integrated forces of mortality and of natality."
- EFFECTIVE BUSINESS LETTERS. By E. H. GARDNER and R. R. AURNER. Revised Edition. The Ronald Press, New York, 1928, pp. vi+385. Aside from its excellent practical nature, the book furnishes many pointers for the study of indirect suggestion.
- THE BAIL SYSTEM IN CHICAGO. By ARTHUR L. Beeley. University of Chicago Press, 1927, pp. 189. A scholarly study dealing with the bail system from the standpoint of the reactions upon the criminal as well as from the traditional viewpoints.
- QUOTABLE POEMS. Compiled by T. C. CLARK and E. A. GILLESPIE. Willett, Clark & Colby, Chicago, 1928, pp. xii+374. A valuable anthology.
- FIT AND PROPER. A Study of Legal Adoption in Massachusetts. By IDA R. PARKER. The Church Home Society, Boston, 1927, pp. 130.
- EDUCATION FOR TOLERANCE. By JOHN E. J. FANSHAWE. Independent Education, New York, 1928, pp. 30.

- THE GANGS OF NEW YORK. By Herbert Assurv. Alfred A. Knopf, 1923, pp. xviii+382. In this historical, objective description of the adult gangs of New York City of the past century, the author gives materials for analysis. He states the creed of the gangster and of any criminal as follows: "Whatever a man has is his only so long as he can keep it, and that the one who takes it away from his has not done anything wrong, but has merely demonstrated his smartness."
- CHINA: A Nation in Evolution. By PAUL MONROE. The Macmillan Company, 1928, pp. xv+446. This excellent book gives an account of the contacts of and conflicts between the largest racial aggregate with the oldest culture in the world and an aggressive, commercial set of Western nations. The present attitude and policy of the West toward China is pronounced archaic. For these there need to be substituted "justice, efficiency, and good will."
- THE NEXT AGE OF MAN. By ALBERT E. WIGGAM. The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Indianapolis, 1928, pp. 418. Following the main thought of his previous books, the author puts eugenics into new and forceful language. He presents the argument for heredity in a way to convince all except the exponents of the rôle of social stimuli. The latter will feel that the author is decidedly one-sided.
- THE STORY OF THE TEN COMMANDMENTS. By Conrad H. Moehlman. Harcourt, Brace & Company, 1928, pp. 299. The concluding chapters on property and wealth from the Biblical, Christian, Puritan, and current points of view, and especially the section on the new social decalogue are especially significant.
- THE VISITING TEACHER IN ROCHESTER. By MABEL BROWN ELLIS. Joint Committee on Preventing Delinquency, New York, pp. 201. The splendid rôle that the visiting teacher is playing as a liason worker between school and home is developed here particularly well from the standpoint of administrative aspects.
- TOWN AND COUNTRY. By ELVA E. MILLER. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1928, pp. xii+209. In this sympathetic study of "the town in the country," the author has offered helpful suggestions for building up the town and also has succeeded in interpreting the town to the country.
- PROPAGANDA TECHNIQUE IN THE WORLD WAR. By HAROLD D. LASSWELL. Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1927, pp. 233. A careful social psychological study of war myths, satanism, and formal organization for demoralization of the enemy, and maintenance of morale in the home forces.
- BIBLIOGRAPHY ON CENSORSHIP AND PROPAGANDA. By KIMBALL YOUNG and R. D. LAWRENCE. University of Oregon, 1928, pp. 133. Censorship and propaganda are opposites as pointed out by Dr. Young in this extremely valuable document, which is carefully annotated.
- COMMUNITY CHURCHES. By DAVID R. PIPER. Willett, Clark & Colby, Chicago, 1928, pp. 158. This is a valuable handbook in which the community church movement in its main trends and with reference to its chief procedures is carefully depicted.
- THE AMERICAN YEARBOOK 1928. Rand School of Social Science, New York, pp. 265. Gives many statistics and descriptive accounts concerning industry, labor, farming, courts and labor legislation, and civil rights.
- MEXICO BEFORE THE WORLD. Public Documents and Addresses by PLU-TARCO ELIAS CALLES. The Academy Press, New York, 1927, pp. 244.
- PROCEEDINGS OF THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL COUNTRY LIFE COMMISSION, Michigan State College, 1928, pp. 187.

## Periodical Notes

Personality and Social Adjustment. A brief survey is made of the experimental findings concerning infant behavior, especially of the data which throw light on original nature. The experimental findings of the behaviorists, especially Watson's discoveries, give us a different picture of the infant's unlearned responses from that offered by the instinct psychology. Harvey Zorbaugh, Journal of Educational Sociology, May, 1928, pp. 35-37.

Current Efforts in Behalf of the American Family. This is a resume of the special institutions, agencies and movements which have of late been developing in realization of the importance of family problems, and of the need of careful investigation of them as an essential to their solutions. Mention is made of some of the outstanding research projects carried out by various schools, organizations, and people. Thomas Eliot, The Family, May, 1928, pp. 87-94.

Marriage That Did and Didn't. A summary is given of a portion of Dr. G. V. Hamilton's scientific report, A Research in Marriage, which will be published soon. More than 300 questions were asked of a hundred married men and a hundred married women concerning their marriage experience. The questions (typed on cards) were handed to the subjects and the answers taken down verbatim. The technique used, as well as a portion of the findings, are described in the article. Mary Ross, Survey Graphic, April, 1928, pp. 30-31.

The Management of Tensions. This study deals with the development of personality from the standpoint of the individual's learning how to manage his physiological and psychological tensions. Various tensions are analyzed, indicating the processes of adjustments. The socialization of the individual is viewed as a "continuation of parental and other adult instruction under which the child learns to observe the taboos and to use the institutional practices as the group-sanctioned patterns for tensional management." Lawrence K. Frank, The American Journal of Sociology, March, 1928, pp. 705-736.

On Interviewing Parents of Crippled Children. "The growing interest of case workers in the technique of their profession has tended to center attention on the interview as an instrument of social work." The personal interview makes it possible not only to get at the physical and vocational difficulties but to gain an insight into some of the psychological traits peculiar to crippled children and the mental and emotional attitudes of parents toward the physically defective child in the family. Cases are cited illustrating how the interview method may be employed. Laura Hood, The Social Service Review, March, 1928, pp. 60-76.

Methods of Research in Studying the Family. The family is well adapted to the descriptive, anthropological, historical, biological, psychological, case history, experimental and statistical methods of approach in research, "each of which, alone or in combination, may be used advantageously in studying its origin, development, organization, status, and problems." Recent literature dealing with these various approaches is surveyed. Attention is called to the increased time devoted to the problem by scientific organizations and the growing social legislation. Through it all one can see the increasing use of the case method, which is regarded as the most important contribution to the study of the family and its problems. Katherine Jocher, The Family, May, 1928, pp. 80-85.

Statistical Report of One Thousand Social Cases Classified and Interpreted. The report covers cases studied under the auspices of the Committee on Functions of the American Association of Hospital Social Workers, 1925-27. Eighty-six hospitals in thirty-four cities, in nineteen states and in Canada were asked to co-operate. The returns numbered 1,029 cases, or 76 per cent of the 1,350 asked for. The cases are combined into less than fifty heads, and arranged into two general groups, those of a general medical and surgical nature and those presenting a nervous and mental condition. Simple cases to illustrate the questionnaire are presented. "The basic practices of hospital social work exhibited in the study under consideration can be described as discovery of the relevant social factors in the health problems of particular patients and influencing these factors in such ways as to further the patient's medical care." Louise Stevens Bryant, Hospital Social Service, May, 1928, pp. 446-500.

A Social Hygiene Survey of New Haven. This article is a "summary of a survey made by the American Social Hygiene Association in co-operation with the New Haven Health Department, the Yale School of Public Health, and the United Public Health Service." "In all, 1,403 cases of syphilis and gonorrhea were reported as under treatment or observation," which shows a rate of 7.39 cases per 1,000 total population. Data were derived from official records, census, and from officials, doctors, and agencies dealing with such patients." Methods of diagnosis and treatment are evaluated and recommendations made. Journal of Social Hygiene, April, 1928, pp. 213-33.

Eugenic Sterilization in California. The two papers given in this article deal mainly with the attitude of the relatives of sterilized individuals and the attitudes of patients toward the operation. The information was gotten by means of questionnaires. "The inquiry brought to light only a few cases in which sterilization had caused friction in a family." Of the 173 patients who responded, "19 were not satisfied, 22 were indifferent, and 132 were pleased with the results of the operation." The 22 social workers who were circularized in reference to the results of sterilization are virtually unanimous in their approval of the law. Paul Popenoe, Journal of Social Hygiene, May, 1928, pp. 271-284.

Attitudes Can Be Measured. "The object of this study is to devise a method whereby the distribution of attitudes of a group on a specific issue may be represented in the form of a frequency distribution." It represents an extension of the psycho-physical method to the measurement of opinions and attitudes. The present paper outlines the problem of such a method and a solution is offered. "Attitude" is defined as "the sum of a man's inclinations and feelings, prejudice or bias, preconceived notions, ideas, fears, threats, and convictions about any specific topic." An "opinion" is the "verbal expression of an attitude." Attitudes are measured by means of indorsement or rejection of statements of opinions which are allocated to different positions on a base line in accordance with the attitudes which they express. Individuals may thus be allocated along an attitude continuum in accordance with the opinions that they accept or reject. L. L. Thurstone, American Journal of Sociology, January, 1928, pp. 529-54.

Hotel Life and Personality. A survey was made of the percentage of occupancy, weekly and seasonal, and the sex and age composition of the population of 437 Seattle hotels. Characteristics of hotel life and personality patterns in hotel environment are described. Norman S. Hayner, The American Journal of Sociology, March, 1928, pp. 784-95.

Interrelation of Social Work and the Spiritual Life. Mr. Cabot defines religion as the "awareness of the world purpose to which we have allied ourselves." The important thing in social work is to discover this life purpose in some one else and then to attempt to help him find it. The goal of social work should be "to open, to maintain, and to improve the channels of understanding both within each person and between persons, and through these channels to favor the entrance of God's power for the benefit of the individuals." Richard C. Cabot, The Family, November, 1927, pp. 211-17.

American Prisons and Reformatory Institutions: A Report. A commission appointed by the Hamburg senate under the direction of M. Liepman, professor of Criminology, University of Hamburg, made a study of American penal and reformatory institutions. The report consists of a description and evaluation of the leading prisons and reformatories in America. Use is made of recent literature on criminology as a means of evaluating the institutional treatment of criminals. Special mention is made of institutions in which progressive measures have been introduced. M. Liepman, Mental Hygiene, April, 1928, pp. 225-315.

Requisites to Rural and Social Organization. The survey covers two typically rural counties with a view of determining the adequacy or inadequacy with which rural social needs are being met. "On the basis of this study certain principles of rural social organization are

presented and a tentative program suggested."

The composite maps showed that a large part of the farm population was almost or entirely untouched by any organization; 409 of 944 families in four townships are represented in no organization whatsoever. Excessive overlapping of territory by competing organizations was also found. Walter A. Terpenning, The American Journal of Sociology, March, 1928, pp. 737-53.

## International Notes

Social Customs Around the World was the topic of the May meeting of Alpha Kappa Delta at the University of Southern California. Miss Leonarda Fisher, who was the speaker, described her recent world trip. She spoke concerning the slower tempo of the Oriental peoplue, and the shortening of distances now taking place, calling attention that Cairo and Jerusalem are only four and one-half hours distance from each other, and that a person can travel from Jerusalem to Bethlehem in fifteen minutes. The antisocial conditions centering around Indian temples were vividly described. Miss Fisher showed two reels of motion picture films which were greatly appreciated by the fifty members of the sociology society who were present.

China maintains her place in the international limelight. The conflict with Japanese soldiers in Shantung adds excitement to uncertainty. A Christian missionary states that very little is being written "home" from many sections of China because of censorship and adds, "but these are wonderful times and it thrills me just to be here. There are encouraging and discouraging aspects but in a time of revolution and transition some things are bound to be wrong. But things are moving, and are very earnest. Not everything can be transformed at once but if we will just be patient China will come through all right. The same is true of Christianity. It has stood the test and shows real growth in Chinese leadership, spirituality and vitality."

Another American in China writes: "The masses of Chinese though reminding one of 'dumb driven cattle' are still friendly as ever. The war-lords, the Nationalists, the Reds, the bandits, wars, and evil propaganda are disturbing elements; but they are not China nor the Chinese. The troubles in China have come from a fiercely aggressive and 'noisy minority,' who make the great mass of Chinese suffer untold hardships. The Chinese are not 'impossible' and what Christianity has done for China during all these years has not 'gone for nothing' but is planted deep in myriads of hearts of men, women, and children. What if a church is looted or burned by 'Red' prop-

agandists or by an army that has come from a thousand miles away? The Chinese— the great mass of the people—hate all this war and turmoil and anti-Christian propaganda and revolution as all good Americans hate lawbreakers. The minority is brutal; but the mass is sympathetic."

Mexican immigration remains in the foreground. At the National Conference of Social Work held this year in Memphis a special session was devoted to this problem. At a luncheon meeting under the direction of Mr. Elmer Scott of Dallas, Texas, the topic of discussion was: (1) If Mexican immigration is to be restricted, what mode of limitation is wisest, in view of the following factors: (a) difficulty of restriction over a land border of 1800 miles, (b) conservation of friendly relations with Mexico, (c) value of the Mexican's biological contribution to American life, (d) social cost and value of Mexican to American life, (e) asserted need of American industry and seasonal agriculture for labor.

Mr. Charles A. Thomson of San Francisco gave a list of proposals concerning Mexican immigration: (1) Do nothing; (2) gradual reduction; (3) immediate quota, (a) the Box Bill—2 per cent quota, (b) the Watson Bill—10 per cent quota; (4) Federal Board; (5)

co-operation with Mexico.

Dr. Christie Tait of the International Labor Office, Geneva, Switzerland, reported that many countries in Europe have treaties regulating immigration; France has concluded several treaties; Poland and Germany also have a treaty. These treaties provide, as a rule, for: (1) Equal treatment for the immigrant workers, (2) payment of their traveling expenses, (3) laborers are required to return to their own countries, (4) number who enter each year is fixed by the administrative service of both countries, (5) laborer signs a contract drawn up by the governments of both countries.

Mr. Bruno Lasker of the Inquiry suggested the wisdom of making a distinction between Mexican seasonal labor and permanent immigration, and a possible twofold solution of the problem, which would include (1) a gradually reducing quota on permanent immigration, and (2) a Federal Board to determine how much seasonal labor should be admitted each year, possibly with a provision for steadily decreasing this number also. On this point Mr. Ihlder pointed out that seasonal migration presents the danger of the formation of a

separate menial group, a class apart.

A committee with Mr. Charles A. Thomson as chairman was appointed to sum up the results of the discussion and present recommendations. Their report follows: "The Mexican immigrant while presenting distinctive characteristics, raises social, economic, and political problems analagous to those raised by other immigrant groups. Regulation of Mexican immigration is, therefore, desirable for the reasons which led to the regulation of other immigration. The present volume of Mexican immigration suggests the consideration of further regulation.

"We, therefore, recommend to Division X the appointment of a special committee to study the subject and submit definite recommendations at the 1929 meeting. We further request that this committee specially appraise the advisability and practicability of: (1) Regulation of Mexican immigration by treaty or agreement, (2) gradual reduction of the volume of Mexican immigration, (3) regulation of immigration by means of a Federal non-partisan board."

CHINA AND JAPAN have become marked centers of international interest within recent weeks. Japanese troops have been sent into terest within recent weeks. Japanese troops that have been sent into Shantung have clashed with the Nationalist armies moving north toward Peking. The Koumintang-national government councilhas cabled the United States for an expression of her attitude concerning this violation of Chinese sovereignty by Japan. The council has also appealed to the League of Nations. At the seat of the League the situation was treated ironically by the Journal de Geneva. This publication holds that the greater powers have no right to complain of Japan's action since she is now doing in Shantung merely what the British did, in 1927, in Hanchow and Shanghai, and what the United States has been and is doing in Nicaragua. Meanwhile foreign nations have increased their armed forces in the Western Pacific and Nationalist troops have been marching through Peking toward Manchuria where Japan has still greater interests.

IN TURKEY, a woman has been admitted to the bar—for the first time in the history of that country. Mlle Sureya Hanem holds this honor. She attended the American College for Women in Constantinople and developed the desire to become an advocate of women's rights. To achieve this goal she decided to study law, and graduated from the Stamboul Law School. She is twenty-four years of age, and intends to deal chiefly with law cases concerning women.

### Social Work Notes

A SECTION on Sociology and Social Work was established at the 1926 meeting of the American Sociological Society. The papers presented at the first meeting of the new section held in Washington in 1927, appear in the June issue of Social Forces. Among other papers of note, Mr. and Mrs. Karpf presented articles on Sociology, Social Research, and Social Work.

THE FIRST PACIFIC COAST CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK met in Yosemite, June 22-26, together with a number of kindred groups. There was a large attendance with a number of delegates from Oregon and Washington. While the central theme was that of the relation of social work to industrial conditions, a wide range of topics were under consideration with special emphasis on juvenile delin-

quency, old age, mental hygiene, and crime.

The substitution of free discussion for a considerable proportion of the usual prepared papers was a departure from usual conference methods. Unusual skill on the part of the chairman is required to keep such discussions within bounds. This method undoubtedly promotes a more lively interest and participation in the proceedings but offers the serious difficulty of bringing a vast amount of extraneous material into the discussion and does not encourage speakers to "think through" the subject under discussion. Those who go to conference to learn new methods suffer at the expense of those who go to exchange opinions.

The section offering highest educational value was the so-called "public speaking clinic" in which sample social publicity speeches were presented, commented upon, and finally critically analyzed by an expert in public speaking. The urgent necessity is for more and better oral presentations of the aims and methods of social workers. It is to meet this need that the clinic was organized. The success of this section points the advisability of other sections organized to deal

critically with other technical problems.

Probably the group which succeeded best in delimiting its field, in holding closely to a factual basis, in dealing efficiently with the subject in hand was the community chest executive conference. Actual experiences, tested policies and methods, persistent attack from many points of view upon the subject characterized their discussion throughout.

### Social Research Notes

AT AN INFORMAL meeting of the members of the Social Research Society of Southern California, held May 26, Bessie A. McClenahan reported upon findings relative to "The Changing Nature of an Urban Residential Area."

The findings of the study were as follows: In the study of any locality, two factors must be taken into account—the associations of the residents, and the territory they occupy. Locus, or spatial placement, is the position of a person relative to other persons in degree of proximity or contiguity, and is studied in this dissertation as a factor conditioning social life.

Associations of nigh-dwellers, analyzed in relation to the degree of intimacy of social relationships, were classified under participation, limited participation, and non-participation. Traditional forms of the physical expanse of "neighborhood" have shrunk to a few houses, and neighborhood tends to dwindle to non-participation, a voluntary abstention from local contacts.

Modern methods of communication and transportation make possible for the person a wide psycho-social and territorial range. A leading characteristic of current social organization seems to be the individualization of activities, particularly outside the area of residence. The distinctive form of social organization today is found in what may be called communality, herein defined as associations without special territorial reference. The significance of the communality is that it is a group activity on a functional, non-spatial basis. The lack of social dependence upon the locality of residence and mobility of social contacts are the facts which explain it.

The traditional neighborhood as a primary group related to a specific area and serving, along with the family and the play group, to give the residents certain fundamental social values, has largely disappeared. Social activities, instead of being common to the members of a locality, are increasingly specialized, and are expressed through communalities largely independent of local control and with possible variations in their values and standards of conduct. Therefore, one of the problems of the present becomes that of discovering the principle of integration for personal behavior and for social unity, in view of the changing nature of local social organizations.

## Social Fiction Notes

RAINBOW AROUND MY SHOULDER. By Howard W. Odum. Bobbs-Merrill Company, Indianapolis, 1928, pp. 323.

"The ancient poet sang of arms and the man in epic story of group conflict. Not so the Negro, who sings unerringly of personal conflict, himself often the hero." But such songs, sayings, and stories are veritable "mirrors" of the race, and in telling about his adventures in the "more'n fohty states I been in" and "bout a thousand jobs I worked at," Left Wing Gordon, the black Ulysses, reflects in his own prismatic dialect the cultural background of his group. In a few deft, suggestive sentences prefacing each chapter Dr. Odum blends careful sociological analysis with these crude, raw concerns of life which arouse the interest of a rough Negro laborer, without detracting in the slightest from the artistic balance of the story as a whole.

Irregular food, sleep, work, play, and school, mingled with family disorganization and strife lead inexorably to a "leaving age uncommonly common at from ten to fourteen years," and our hero soon finds himself making the rounds of factories, steamboats, traveling shows, outlaw camps, and such like. "Outlaw camp place where ain't no rules much an' no law, an' captain hard on boys, won't let 'em get away. . . . One reason we sticks by camp . . . is freedom to git liquor an' women." Black Ulysses tells of his multiple marriages: "Never did git divorce, too much trouble an' don't seem no need."

My God-a-mighty, what's a feller gonna do, Nigger got his wife, my wife too?

Or again:

Well, I'm gonna start a graveyard of my own If you don't, ole nigger, let my woman alone.

Combining scientific accuracy with keen human interest, Dr. Odum sketches the whole round of Negro life in the new Southern order of transition and struggle. Church life, courtship, love letters, holiday pleasures, jamborees, tell tales and joree jaw, gambling, conjuration and superstition, chain gangs and racial attitudes all pass in review. The blue trail of black Ulysses leads not only to the alley ways of Negro cultural life, but also to a new and interesting form of social case study.

N. N. Puckett (Western Reserve)

# SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL RESEARCH

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Mexican Innuigrants as Laborers	HELEN WALKER
Sociology of René Worms	C. M. Case and P. Wosanian
Social Thought of Emile Zola	N. A. BENNETTON
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Author Author	DOROTHY M. CARRIER

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